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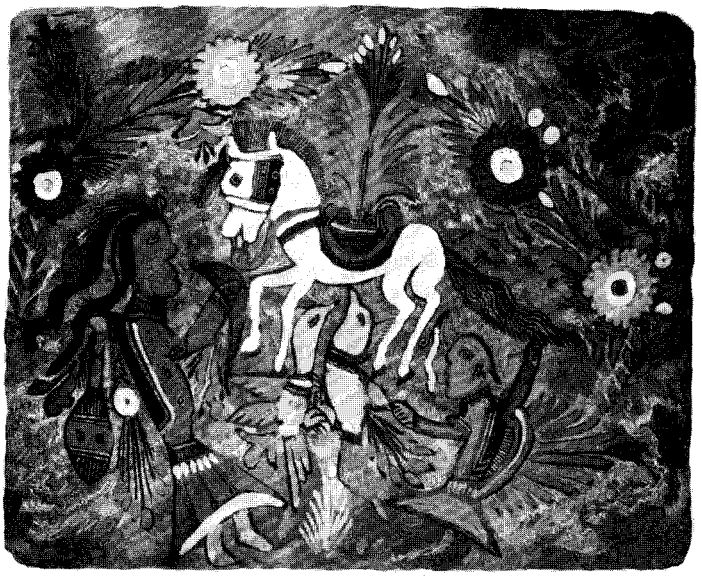

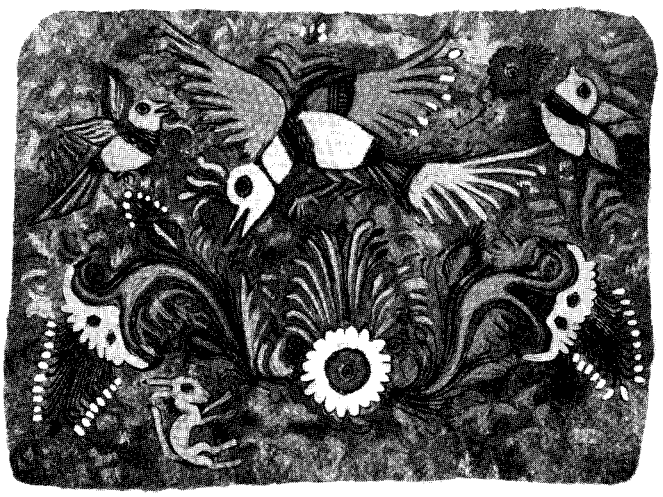

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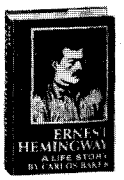

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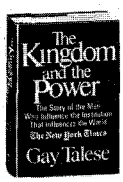

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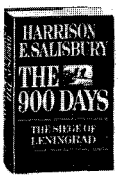

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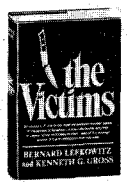

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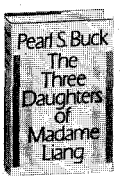

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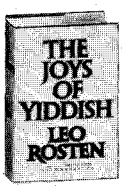

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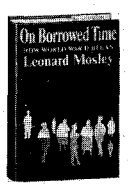

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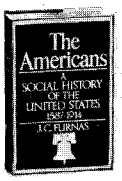

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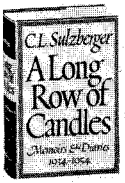

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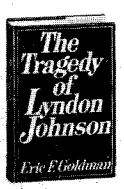

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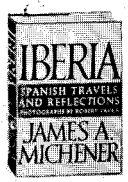

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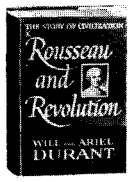

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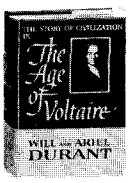

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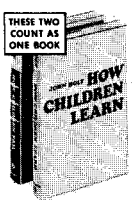

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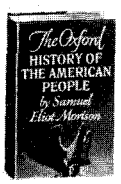

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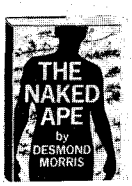

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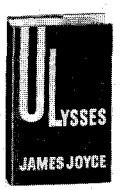

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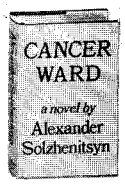

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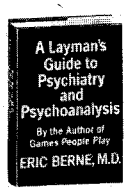

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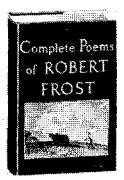

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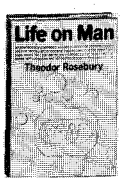

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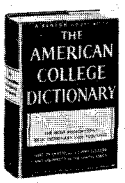

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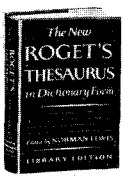

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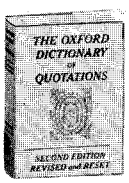

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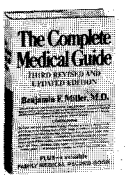

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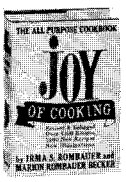

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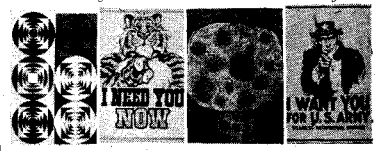

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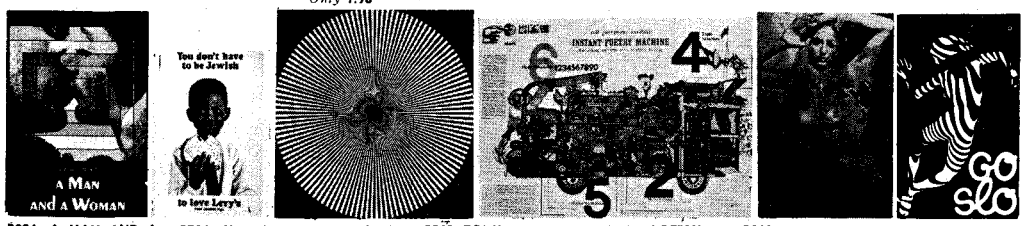

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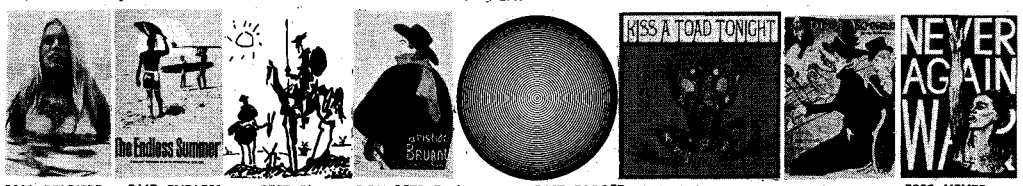

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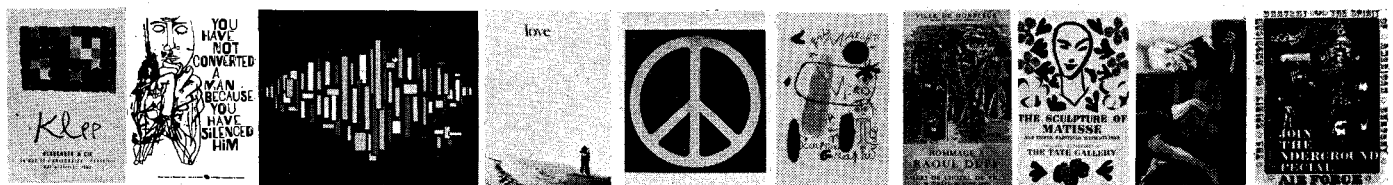

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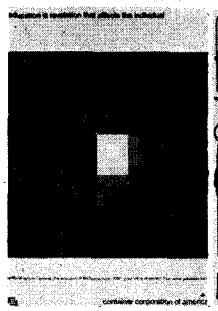

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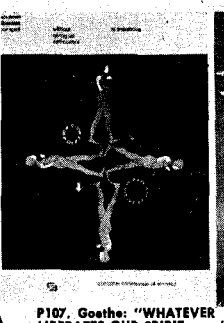

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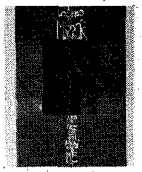

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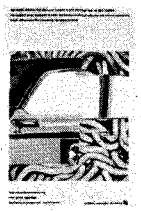

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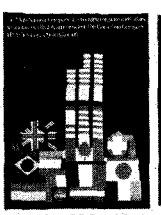

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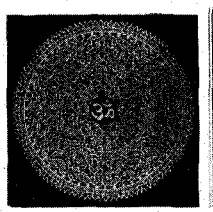

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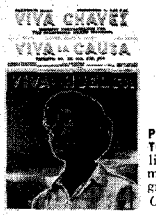

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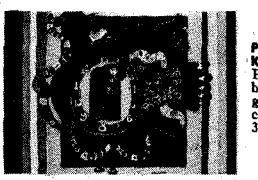

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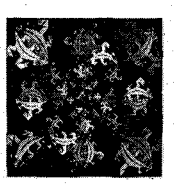

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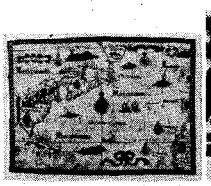

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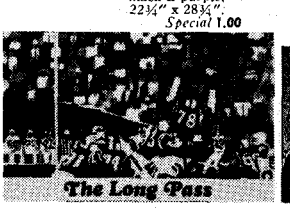

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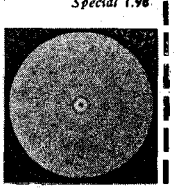

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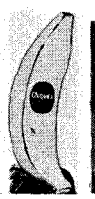

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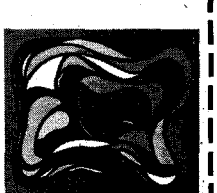

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The Emperor's Clothes

Opponents of the Vietnam war, and that includes most of us, face an agonizing moral dilemma; what is our responsibility to the South Vietnamese if we pull out? Most of us, I think, by now feel that we should never have gone in. Most of us feel that military victory is impossible. On the other hand, we have not been defeated. We are a deeply moral nation (don't let anybody tell you the contrary) and we have made pledges direct or implied that we don't like to think about. Obviously we have a duty. But what? To South Vietnamese who might be massacred if we quit? Or to the 150-200 American boys who lose their lives weekly if we stay? I don't think the US has ever before faced such a question.

To put the matter in starkest form let me quote the ultimate appeal to our emotions by columnist Joseph Alsop, an all-out hawk and first-rate writer. He has been back in Vietnam and tells the atrocity story of what happened to civilians trapped in Hue, when it was overrun by Communists in the Tet offensive a year and a half ago. It seems agreed that the civilians were put into trenches and shot or buried alive, to the number of 2,000 or so. Now the enemy has been driven back. Alsop draws an idyllic picture of present peace. He is passionately sincere. Can we let our allies go through another bloodbath by abandoning them, he asks?

It would be outrageous to condone what was apparently done by the enemy against the civilians of Hue; but how about the bombs and napalm dropped by US planes on North Vietnam? The victims (or their relatives) thought they were atrocities, too. A leering Uncle Sam holding a bomb is, alas, a symbol of this country today, over wide areas of the world. Take your own choice as to which action you consider worse; it will be an unprofitable argument in either case.

A wiser approach, I think, is to consider how to avoid such issues in the future. Here the cool, detached, Olympian view of Walter Lippmann at 80, interviewed by Henry Brandon in *The NY Times* is of some value. He opposed the Vietnam crusade from the first and wrote it boldly even when Sen. Eastland and 18 other senators proposed $10,000 fines and 10-year sentences for those giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy; when Gen. Hershey proposed to draft war protestors, and the White House accused the opponents of US bombing of "stabbing our troops in the back." Lippmann is not an isolationist. But he attacks the "American theory that we are the guardians of the world." This theory, he feels, is always clothed in inflated phrases – Johnson trying to carry the Great Society everywhere, Kennedy seeking to eliminate revloutionary wars, Roosevelt promising to "save the world from fear," Wilson to make it "safe for democracy." Do not ridicule such idealism. It was just 50 years ago that the tragic Wilson – he of the top hat and wombat coat – collapsed while fighting for the League. But it is a matter of rationality. America, superpower though it is, has its limits; it should not get commited in a land war in Asia. As Lippmann puts it, "The US could and can afford guns and butter, but it can't afford a military position with infantry across both oceans."

The moral pull for the US to go on rescue missions will always be enormous. There are a dozen such spots today. Our conscience aches for them. But our capacity? It is probably limited to Western Europe, to the Americas and to "blue water" areas where our air and naval power is supreme.

So we come back to Vietnam. Mr. Nixon is trying to arrange a face-saving exit. In our more flexible stance, he says, the only thing now non-negotiable, "is the right of the people of South Vietnam to determine their own future free of outside interference."

Where this leaves the Thieu government we don't know. Last November President Thieu refused to join the Paris peace talks and thereby very likely elected Mr. Nixon. At one time or another he has been implored to free political prisoners, to widen his government's representation and to pick a civilian premier. He has done none of these things. When the enemy asked a 72-hour cease-fire for Ho's funeral, President Thieu first refused, then agreed, then continued fighting.

Almost certainly the Communists will never agree to a settlement that does not include them in the government, and Thieu says he will never accept that. So there is another moral dilemma for the US.

There is also a weakness in Mr. Nixon's comforting premise that the South Vietnamese people must determine their own future. How are they to "determine" it? They are not much used to ballots. But people can vote in other ways than at the polling booth – by defending themselves, say, or by dying for their country: that would be evidence that South Vietnam really is a country. Many people do not think it is and believe that if the US pulls out its combat troops the Thieu regime will neither have the will nor the capacity to survive.

Walter Lippmann is rather terrifyingly detached about this, too. He thinks Saigon will collapse and that a new government will take Thieu's place and negotiate a settlement. And then? "Why North Vietnam will dominate South Vietnam; it's the stronger part of it, and it will be Communist, more or less like Yugoslavia is Communist, relatively speaking, and it won't make very much of a difference."

Well, if you are a journalist-philosopher turned 80 you can make such remarks. In the cant and make believe, all Lippmann is really saying is that the emperor has no clothes on. React to it as you like.

Notes: President Nixon's conference on hunger is having fund trouble; it's suffering from malnutrition. . . . The American Medical Association *Journal* again refuses to print an authoritative paper warning against certain drugs widely advertised in the *Journal*. . . . Contrary to some, TRB finds little against Judge Haynsworth; and almost nothing for him. . . . There is a chilling beauty of phrase in the CIA's death sentence on supposed double-spy Thai Khac Chuyen: he was "terminated with extreme prejudice."

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Misreading Democracy

The drive to abolish the electoral college and substitute direct popular election of Presidents, which achieved an important initial success last week when the House endorsed it by more than the required two-thirds, is powered by two engines: fear and ideology. The people have been told repeatedly that we are playing Russian roulette; that in close elections under the present system, such as those of 1968 and 1960, a George Wallace or the like can keep both major-party candidates from getting the necessary majority of electoral votes, and can then be the President-maker, either by selling the votes of the electors supposedly committed to him, or by letting the election go into the House. In the House, we are reminded, the Constitution now gives each state one vote for purposes of electing a President when the electoral college is deadlocked, and that vote is cast by a majority of each state's Representatives. The small states count, therefore, most disproportionately, and a George Wallace may be able to fish quite successfully.

These fears may be a trifle exaggerated, but they are nonetheless justified. Yet they do not justify abolishing the electoral college. The dangers which give rise to them can be entirely eliminated by an amendment perfecting the present arrangement: abolish the elector as a theoretically free agent, providing instead that a state's electoral vote be automatically and unavoidably cast for the winner of a majority or plurality of the popular vote in that state; and, cause deadlocks to be resolved, not by the present archaic and pointless method, but for example, by election in the House or in a joint session of Congress by a majority of the individual votes of the members.

These solutions do not commend themselves to advocates of the popular election, however, because practical worries about the workings of the electoral college are, after all, a secondary matter to them. Their position is essentially ideological. It's the principle of the thing. Democracy, the argument runs, has one pure and simple meaning – a popular majority decides. Once in our history, under the system now in effect, the electoral college produced a deadlock, and once in the last century in an honest election it let the loser of the popular vote by a very narrow margin gain the Presidency. Otherwise, and always in this century, it has allowed a popular majority – or plurality, which is apparently equally acceptable – to be decisive.

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In theory, nevertheless, the electoral college *can* defeat the winner of at least a narrow popular majority or plurality. That is its chief sin, that is behind the strong drive to abolish it, that is why Tom Wicker of *The New York Times* writes that there's no better way to unify the nation "than to convert our patchwork method of choosing a national leader into a genuinely national act, in which every man's vote counts equally, and neither states nor sections matter."

Is a simple and invariable majoritarianism what we mean by democracy? Since when? The Supreme Court, which has a great deal to do with how we are governed, is not only not majoritarian, it is not even elected. The Senate also wields a good bit of power over us, (and in the judgment of many it has in recent years been more responsive to the public interest than has the House); in the Senate, each state, regardless of population, has an equal vote, of which no state may be deprived, says the Constitution, even by a duly passed and ratified amendment, without its own consent. In the House, although each state has at least one vote, the whole state may be – and some are – considerably smaller in population than the average Congressional district.

Aside from the fact that very few of our institutions, and none of our national ones, are out-and-out majoritarian, we don't choose to do everything by simple majority votes. It takes a two-thirds vote in the Senate to ratify a treaty, and a two-thirds vote in the Senate and House to propose a constitutional amendment, which must then be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. A Congress in which the entire House and one-third of the Senate are newly-elected, and which is thus the authentic voice of a popular majority, if ever there is one in our national institutions, may pass a law, but a President elected two years earlier and now perhaps out of tune with the new majority may veto the law. If he does, it takes a two-thirds vote in the Senate and House to override his veto and make a valid law.

One may view all these institutions and devices as outrageously undemocratic, hardly less undemocratic than the electoral college, and be prepared to sweep one or all of them away also, including the Supreme Court, the next time the majoritarian broom cleans out the stables. In truth these institutions and devices tell us that throughout our history we have perceived other values in government than its reflection of simple majorities of the moment, which are in any event not easy to find or may be whipped up on demand. We have lived this democracy as a rather complex sum of these values, not just as uncompromising majoritarianism. We have, since Madison, understood that people tend to act politically not so much as individuals as in groups; that they have opinions, preferences and interests which vary in intensity, thus calling for varying degrees of respect and forebearance on the part of others, even if those others constitute a majority; that majorities sometimes act rashly and even mindlessly, and may need to be given pause; that, in short, influence and even power should be distributed more widely than they would be in rigid adherence to the majoritarian principle, so that government may rest on widespread consent rather than teetering on the knife-edge of a transient 51 percent. For we have wanted government to be stable and peaceable, and to have the most limited need to resort to coercion. What we have evolved, therefore, is a pluralist system, in Professor Robert Dahl's phrase, of minorities rule. We have striven, perhaps it may be said, not for a majoritarian, but for a participatory democracy, in which access to the process of government is continuously available to all groups.

The question about the electoral college, then, is not whether it is inevitably and purely majoritarian. It is not, although the electoral college is very considerably more so than our other national institutions. The question is whether or not it tends to enhance minorities rule; whether it tends to include or exclude various groups from influence in the institution of government which is the Presidency, and whether, if it assigns somewhat disproportionate influence to some groups, they are the ones which are relatively short-changed in Congress, so that the total effect of the electoral college is the achievement of a balance of influence. The groups which tend to be favored by the electoral college system, as we have several times pointed out in these pages, are cohesive blocs of urban voters in the large industrial states; they are the ones which have proportionately less influence in Congress than their numbers would justify.

Practical men interested in perfecting the American democracy are well-advised to disenthrall themselves from the romance of pure majoritarianism. Diminishing the influence of the urban voter, which is one probable result of popular election of Presidents, is not a democratic result – not as the concept of democracy has been defined and applied in our tradition, or as it could conceivably be applied in the conditions of our vast and varied country.

COMING: a report by Ralph Nader on certain deficiencies in our system of legal education

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Time Out

The eight-month moratorium from sharp, widespread attack that Mr. Nixon has thus far enjoyed in his conduct of the war and of the Paris negotiations ends October 15, when a moratorium of another sort is planned. Its organizers hope for massive national participation in a day of varied demonstrations. The essence of their appeal has been expressed in a report of the Committee On the Goals of Higher Education of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania, which "condemns the continuing American military involvement in Vietnam and calls for the withdrawal of all American forces from that country"; and which would place the faculty "beside its students in demanding a reversal of national priorities away from militarism in all its guises and towards social reform in this nation."

Moratorium leaders in Washington, D.C. are loosely orchestrating activities on 500 campuses, offering what Sam Brown, one of the key youth organizers of the '68 McCarthy campaign, refers to as a "menu." In some places, he says, participants will circulate petitions saying they will not vote for any congressman who supports the war, or they will petition city councils and congressmen, or they will begin forming organizations for later electoral campaigns. In Boston, a rally on the morning of the 15th will feature Senator George McGovern as speaker. Boston's Citizens for Participation in Politics and the Massachusetts Peace Action Council in Cambridge expect the crowd to spend the afternoon passing out leaflets and petitions (one to the Boston City Council asking it to endorse prompt withdrawal of American troops). The stadium rally approach will also be followed in Syracuse. In Los Angeles, where the Moratorium has a full-time staff, marches and local demonstrations will involve 30 area colleges and universities.

A city-wide organizing meeting was held last week in Philadelphia where a draft-card turn-in is scheduled. High school students will mass at the board of education and march to the Philadelphia Resistance rally at John F. Kennedy Plaza. Students at 13 Philadelphia area colleges and universities are asking that classes be suspended. They will be at Rutgers in New Jersey, if individual professors so choose. Rutgers' president has asked for a positive and dramatic exhibition that day "of the role of the university as teacher, as guardian of civilized values, and as the critical and moral intelligence which compels the community to ponder its courses of action." He has instructed his administrative staff "to help in scheduling space and making facilities available."

University of Oregon students are concentrating on labor, attending union meetings to talk about the war. Working students are making contacts with the AFL-CIO; others are walking a picket line with carpenters, protesting what they regard as a scab contract to build a new law school.

In El Paso, preliminary plans were laid at this summer's National Student Association convention for a joint effort by students and GIs for Peace, anti-war soldiers in the area, who will canvass El Paso neighborhoods in the evening.

A Universities Faculty Committee on the Vietnam Moratorium has written to more than 4,000 "concerned faculty colleagues," urging their support of the student call for "prompt and total withdrawal" and the "immediate reordering of our national priorities." Stanford faculty have sent their own letter to colleagues: "The protest must begin again. . . . We must convice the large majority who are against the war that they must take action for immediate withdrawal." Since the academic year has just started, planning at a substantial number of universities has got no further than a commitment by students and professors to do something. The Vietnam Moratorium Committee hopes the protest will engage not only established peace groups, but those which have yet to speak out forcefully against the war – city halls, unions, Everyman. The Business Executives Move for Peace has composed a resolution, similar to that passed by the Chicago city council, denouncing the war. It is being sent to governors, senators, mayors, town and city managers, and city council members of the 50 largest cities. Groups such as the

"What we'd like to do is extricate ourselves without exactly leaving"

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New Democratic Coalition, SANE, Americans for Democratic Action, the Women's Strike for Peace, and Clergy and Laymen Concerned will have their spokesmen at shopping centers, bus stations and suburban neighborhoods to get signatures supporting the Businessmen's antiwar resolution.

It is hoped that unions will participate by extending afternoon lunch periods and holding rallies. One such is planned for New York's Garment District, with speeches by Paul O'Dwyer and Walter Reuther.

Federal employees in Washington who support the protest will wear black armbands to work. Moratorium organizers in the District of Columbia plan demonstrations at the various government departments and hope for a display of support by government workers. There is a possibility that Congress will play some part. A Vietnam resolution is being prepared to be submitted for debate in both houses on October 15.

In November or December, there will be more activity. Of most interest to politicians, perhaps, is the prospect that the networks brought into being for October 15 will stay in business and raise money for anti-Vietnam candidates in 1970.

Hungry Democrats

Reform gets more praise than cash, and so it is with the two commissions mandated by the Chicago Democratic convention to study ways of opening up "the people's party" to the people. It's remarkable that the McGovern Commission on delegate selection and party structure reform and the O'Hara Commission on convention rules, lean and hungry, are not weaker than they are. The former body, which has drawn some public attention by a series of 16 hearings around the country, has been able to keep going only by scrounging on a week-to-week basis. Weeks ago, it spent its last dollar to pay the salaries of a group of young interns who are making a detailed, in-depth, state-by-state study of the legal basis of current delegate selection processes and party structures. It has been that way all summer as the commission chairman, and his vice chairman, Sen. Harold Hughes (D., Ia.), repeatedly tapped personal money sources within the party to pick up just enough to buy airline tickets for staff and commission to the next panel hearing.

No one else in the Democratic party is much better off. Hubert Humphrey's managers, once installed at the Democratic National Committee, found John Criswell, the LBJ operative, had packed all the lists of contributors before leaving. They spent the rest of the fall not only begging from a demoralized party, but making up new lists. Only AFL-CIO chieftan George Meany opened his coffers; consequently, labor is still trying to refill its own. When it was all over, there was a $6 million campaign debt. Nine months later, the debt had only been reduced by $300,000. And to make matters worse, the DNC decided to assume $2 million in preconvention obligations of Humphrey, the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and McGovern. (McCarthy took care of his own.)

McGovern and Hughes don't blame Democratic National Chairman Fred R. Harris for their meager rations. He has met his commitments to them, including roughly $44,000 for staff salaries, plus office space, telephones, stationery – about $75,000 in all. A realistic estimate of the long-term costs of the McGovern Commission, however, is $200,000 and only about $20,000 has been raised in excess of the DNC contribution. Another $100,000 is needed for research, field trips and selective hearings around the country.

One point of backstage controversy revolves around whether the McGovern Commission expenditures should be filed by DNC under the Corrupt Practices Act, a course Sen. McGovern thinks sets a precedent for giving the National Committee a veto over the findings of the commission. McGovern says the commission was mandated by the Chicago convention and is only required to report to the Rules Committee of the next convention, although he says he's quite willing to accept suggestions from DNC and open the commission's books to them. It won't be known how serious the party is about reforming itself until reaction sets in to the preliminary report of the commission, due to be released in mid-November. The broad guidelines for delegate selection will be set down at that time, to be followed by a comprehensive analysis in a final report next year.

It is known that there is strong resistance, particularly among DNC members in the South, to the whole idea of opening wide the party. At the hearing in New Orleans, Louisiana's J. Marshall Brown said he thought "the party leaders" should pick the Presidential nominee. At the Houston hearing, ex-Democratic National Committeeman Frank Erwin, a protege of ex-Gov. John Connally, denied there was a pattern of discrimination and pointed to the handpicked blacks and browns on the 1968 Texas delegation (there were also several from Houston who weren't handpicked). Erwin could not take seriously witnesses who testified that the mere presence of the Texas Rangers at a polling place intimidates the newly aroused Mexican-American community.

Two major themes run through the voluminous testimony thus far gathered – failure to apply the "one man, one vote" principle in intra-party affairs, and denial to rank-and-file voters of an effective say in the selection of convention delegates. For example, four Pennsylvania delegates to Chicago, with three votes, were elected in the primary from each district, thus giving heavily Republican rural and small town areas

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with a small number of Democrats the same weight as the urban, heavily black districts of Philadelphia. To balance this, say some party leaders, it is necessary to have the state committee pick a substantial number of at-large delegates. That doesn't always redress the balance. In Columbia, Mo., McCarthy backers scored heavily last year, yet only one-third of the county committee which named the state committee members came from Columbia, although it has two-thirds of the county's population.

There are reform commissions in better than 30 states. Two state legislatures – Rhode Island and Maryland – both of which heretofore allowed state committees to pick delegates without recourse to the voters, have passed direct primary laws. Mayor Richard Daley has come out for the direct election of delegates. In Missouri, where a pattern of locking McCarthy supporters out of township caucuses in the St. Louis and Kansas City areas has been exposed, State Chairman Delbert Houchens discovered the party doesn't even have a set of rules. A committee is now devising one.

One danger is that 25 or 30 states will have adopted the direct primary system by 1972. If that happens, could any Presidential candidate even consider campaigning in that many primaries? At that point, it might be better to go to a direct nationwide primary.

But right now, the problem is money. Unless a lot of people open their checkbooks, the McGovern and O'Hara commissions are going to be hard-pressed to document the layer upon layer of inequities found on every hand, and a rare opportunity to reform the political process may be lost.

Massachusetts Test

The mood of the voters at the upper end of the East Coast's sprawling megalopolis will be tested in Massachusetts' North Shore district Sept. 30 in a special election to fill the House seat left vacant by the late Rep. William Bates, who was ranking Republican on the House Armed Services Committee and a supporter of the Administration's Vietnamese policy.

Democrats in the district have nominated 33-year-old State Rep. Michael Harrington, a man of uncommon candor who is conducting a "new politics" sort of campaign, relying heavily on volunteers and straight talk on issues. He is antiwar, anti-ABM and, in a recent interview in the Boston *Globe*, said he would make birth-control services available to anyone who wants them (respecting individual religious beliefs, however). He left the door open to opposing the sacrosanct Speaker of the House, Massachusetts' own John McCormack.

Republicans hope to hold the seat with Sen. William Saltonstall, 43-year-old son of the former Senator, a man who eschews controversy and is counting on name identification and hand-shaking.

It is a district of mixed circumstances, from affluent suburbanites to factory workers in the Lynn-Swampscott area to small-town Yankee Republicans. Registered "independents" outnumber both Democrats and Republicans. The Harrington style combined with the GOP's long hold on the seat (159 years) make it an interesting test in the ninth month of the Nixon Administration. Both parties are sending in their experts. If the Democrats should win, it would be their third GOP seat in four tries since Nixon took office. The first two – in Wisconsin and Montana – fell to a revived farm-labor coalition.

Lots in a Name

A recent book about *The New York Times* sparks some thoughts on names in publishing and what they signify. The thoughts go counter to Shakespeare's notion; there is, or should be, very much in a name. Press lords of all sorts, looking frantically for ways to regain lost revenue, might search instead for lost identity. They might find a new sense of purpose.

Consider, for example, how clear a view of press purpose is given, depending on which of the most common categories of newspaper names is used. First is the newspaper that purports simply to relate things as they happen, the transmission-belt model. Thus, *The Chronicle, The Journal, The Mirror, The Record, The Register.* A little more active role is indicated by such as *The Messenger* or *The Post.* At least they *deliver.* More active still are the speedy likes of *The Dispatch, The Express,* and *The Mercury.* And if *The Clarion, The Herald,* and *The Tribune* aren't fast, at least they're loud. Names like *The Enquirer* and *The Observer* imply that the newspaper itself is an actor in the day's events, an influential role plainly intended by *The Examiner, The Leader,* and *The Sentinel.*

The record is poor for planetary tags – *The Star, The Sun,* and *The World* – unless wedded to stronger stock. But mergers themselves bring problems in applying the suggested method for ending a publication's identity crisis. Newspapers with double or even triple titles could end up with conflicting orders about which role to play. So finding purpose through name contemplation has difficulties, too.

It would be interesting to know whether the steady solvency of *The New York Times* depends in any way on the fact that it has just one name which neatly embodies its purpose – broad enough to include everything important, then, now, and in future, and also allowing for the possibility of shaping those times. It

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is certainly true that nice, low-key names like *The Times* or *The News* mark the mastheads of many publications that flourish. But being interested in more than mere solvency, we confess a preference for the dedicated nomenclature of, say, *The Guardian*, and, yes, *The New Republic*. Or *The Barb*.

The Public Be Damned

FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson's answers to questions put to him by a Senate subcommittee are bleak: "Citizen participation in the Federal Communications Commission's decision making processes is virtually nonexistent." . . . "The FCC is a 'captive' of the very industry it is purportedly trying to regulate." . . . "Complaints are often ignored or given unhelpful and discouraging 'boiler plate' replies." . . . "The agency's records are scattered, disorganized, incomplete and the extraction of relevant information is often very difficult." . . . "The Commission often lacks adequate staff resources (or the willingness to commit such resources) in dealing with major policy questions. Expeditious resolution of policy matters, especially where strong industry groups oppose policies, is often frustrated by the Commission's concurrence in the dilatory tactics of the regulated." . . . "The agency staff dominates the commission's decision making process . . . nor do I feel I can call on staff for the formulation of alternatives to what they have proposed. On many occasions when I have made such requests, they have been positively refused."

The result is a commercial broadcasting system which, under the pretense of "giving the people what they want," drowns them in a sea of trivia, and not very entertaining trivia at that.

Mr. Nixon's nomination last week of two new FCC commissioners gives no reason to expect any improvement. Dean Burch, whom he has named to replace Rosel H. Hyde as Chairman, is qualified primarily by his political labors for Barry Goldwater. Robert Wells, who will succeed Commission member James J. Wadsworth, has spent most of his life running radio stations in small mid-Western cities. They take the seats of two pro-industry Republican members. The President will have his chance to create a Republican majority in the Commission when Democrat Kenneth A. Cox's term expires next June.

The new line-up is good news to the industry, for it assures that the FCC will keep right on defending commercial broadcasters against consumer challenges to license renewals, and will protect the industry as well as it can against the technological threat of cable television as a multi-channel substitute for the constraining broadcast system in use today.

Black Power

I - Alabama: First Steps

Stretching across the deep South like the scar from an old knife wound is a band of counties predominantly populated by blacks. It runs to the south of Birmingham and Atlanta, and includes few cities of any size: towns like Meridian, Mississippi, and Selma, Alabama, are white enclaves that lie in its path. For the most part, it is rural, agricultural, poor.

Greene County is in the northwestern corner of Alabama's Black Belt. Its population in 1960 was 13,600, 2,500 whites. Greene County blacks are not the kind who characteristically challenge authority. Two-thirds of the adults had completed not more than six years of school; only 300 had finished high school. Their average family income was $971 per year.

Then, in 1966, a black man was elected to the county school board. He was the father of one of a group of schoolboys who were held in the county jail for a few days following a peaceful demonstration at the high school, and the incident had aroused the people sufficiently to bring about his election. The result was predictably minimal. Throughout the South, there are communities having one or two blacks on the city council, the school board, or the board of county commissioners. In individual cases they have been able to affect the treatment of schoolteachers or employment of black policemen, but their impact on broad matters of governmental policy has been insignificant. The election victory had, however, whetted the taste of Greene County blacks, and by the time of the 1968 election 3,988 of them had registered to vote. At the time of the 1960 census, there were only 1,649 whites of voting age, so the presence of 2,102 whites on the voter registration list in 1968, in a declining population, indicates a major effort to retain control.

The School Board consists of five members serving staggered, four-year terms. Two white members were up for reelection in 1968. The County Commission has four members elected for two-year terms, plus the judge of probate as its *ex officio* chairman. With the exception of the judge of probate, all seats were at stake in the 1968 election. Black candidates were entered for all six posts. They ran, along with 83 other candidates for state and local offices, under the banner of the National Democratic Party of Alabama, a newly formed political organization which had a considerable amount of difficulty meeting the requirements of the state's election laws. In October, however, the US Supreme Court ordered election officials to place the 89 names on the appropriate ballots in November. On November 5, black voters of Greene County went to the polls, confidently expecting to take over control of their local government and of the school system.

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They had reckoned without the forthright dedication to his cause of Greene County's presiding official, Probate Judge James Dennis Herndon. The Supreme Court notwithstanding, the six names were not on the ballot. There was a black candidate for Congress on the ballot, who carried Greene County by some 2,500 votes (although he lost in the District at large), so there is little doubt that the six would have won. Judge Herndon explained later, however, that he had not realized that the Court's ruling applied to these six. Charges of contempt against him are still pending, while litigation proceeds in the US District Court in Montgomery. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court last March ordered a new election, under rigorously supervised conditions. The election was held this July 29, and Greene County now has a black-controlled school board, and four black county commissioners presided over by a white probate judge who has not yet been proven to be contemptuous of the Supreme Court.

Contrary to Northern white expectations, Southern blacks do not constitute a political monolith. Many of them, particularly in rural areas such as Greene County, still believe that government is white folks' business, and that the election of black officials is against the natural order. Of the others, most are economically dependent upon the whites. They farm white-owned land, they live in white-mortgaged homes, they buy from white stores, they work for white employers. The six candidates themselves were all to some extent economically independent: farm owners, a grocer, an employee of a company owned outside the county. But the great majority of the voters were highly vulnerable. Offers of jobs or money, the threat of losing jobs or credit, can overcome a lot of political idealism among people living at the margin of subsistence. There was little or no physical coercion in Greene County, but the economic pressure was turned on full force in the weeks leading up to July 29.

What remains to be seen is where the balance lies between political power and economic power in the conduct of public affairs. The new county government can expect little support from state government: George Wallace is still very much alive in Alabama. They will have to make it on their own. The blacks have latent economic power: the power of the consumer to boycott, the power of labor to strike. Perhaps with their new political awareness and control of the machinery of government, they can achieve the unity and purpose necessary for the mobilization of this power. Much depends upon the still untested quality of their new leadership. Much depends also upon the whites. There is much that they can do to exploit the present division among the blacks, if their choice is to frustrate and discredit the new county government; but if they decide that their interests will best be served by the best possible government, they can ease the transition.

The first developments of major importance are likely to be in the public school system. There has been token integration of the white schools, but not of the black schools. There are black teachers who are qualified for supervisory positions heretofore closed to them. Until now, the black teachers have not played their natural role as leaders in the black community because of fear for their jobs; under a black school board, they are freer. The conditions under which Greene County schools open this month are radically different from those under which they closed in June, and the results will tell much about the future, not only of Greene County, but of the Deep South.

David F. Ross

II - Capitalist Slow Down

For a brief time during the Presidential campaign, there loomed the extraordinary prospect that black architects of community control could support Nixon. Though he gave every indication of wanting as little to do with their community as possible, he offered a vague but attractive proposal to aid "black capitalism." To hear him tell it, the idea was just "what many of the black militants now are saying." He pledged, through a program of guarantees and incentives, to mobilize funds for Negroes to take over and expand the economy of the ghetto. "He used all my language in the campaign," Floyd McKissick recalled recently. "Of course, he never mentioned my name." Since the election, he has rarely mentioned the program, either.

The President's only statement on the subject accompanied his executive order in March setting up the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (the term "black capitalism," explained Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans, was dropped because the program was also aimed at Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians). Nixon noted that 116 federal programs were involved in aiding new enterprises, and so he added one more – OMBE – to "coordinate" them. Significantly, OMBE was given no authority and no loan money. Its assignment was to use nothing more than persuasion and the President's blessing to bring together government agencies, private lenders, and ghetto entrepreneurs. The man chosen for the job, Thomas F. Roeser, was virtually unknown in all three circles.

Roeser, who was the public affairs director for the Quaker Oats Co. before coming to Washington in April, radiates occupational optimism. He points proudly to three grants from other agencies that he says were obtained through OMBE's initiative, and a commitment from Chrysler to set up 25 minority dealerships. To critics who say that's an unimpressive record for an Administration which has been in office for six months Roeser beams, "there are people who said

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in 1958 that we couldn't land on the moon. I think the critics will change their minds." But even some of Roeser's key subordinates admit that OMBE's future looks somber, and the reasons are not hard to find.

For one thing, OMBE is trying to do almost precisely what the Small Business Administration under President Johnson began doing – and is still doing. The two agencies – each of them asking businessmen to cooperate in giving money and franchises to ghetto enterpreneurs – were rubbing elbows from the start. Tempers flared. "There was constant harassment," charges Phillip Pruitt, the young, black Wall Street investment banker who headed the SBA's minority enterprise program. "It got to the point where I wouldn't talk to them." White House aides, worried as reports of the infighting began leaking out to Congress, quietly arranged to transfer Pruitt out of SBA. Instead, he quit, leveling a bitter blast at the President's lack of interest in the fate of the program.

The bickering and confusion have frankly appalled the nation's banking establishment at a time when many of its members were showing some signs of interest in ghetto lending. Spokesmen for the powerful American Bankers Association – which has set up a Bankers Committee on Urban Affairs – maintain that adequate loan funds would start flowing if the President fulfilled his promise to push for a massive commitment from private lenders. So far, say the bankers, Nixon has given them no sign that he plans to do so. "There are two programs vacillating back and forth," explains one. "They say they're both doing the same thing. The bankers would like to see an indication coming from the White House that this is a priority item." Since the Nixon program is heavily dependent on private funding, the bankers' misgivings very nearly ensure its failure.

In the meantime, the President has not been kind to the SBA. He fired administrator Howard J. Samuels, a magnetically handsome New York Democrat who was sworn in last summer and within two weeks announced a major black capitalism program that upstaged Nixon's campaign proposal. Samuels energetically sold his "Project Own" to bankers and black leaders alike, in the process assembling an 88-member black advisory council that included virtually every big-name Negro leader in the country. Wary New York Republicans quietly informed the White House that Samuels had to go. To replace him, Nixon picked Texas Sen. John Tower's candidate, Hilary J. Sandoval, Jr. As one House Republican puts it, "He's been a disaster." A cautious, conservative Mexican-American distributor of newspapers and magazines in El Paso, Sandoval explains, "I am new to government. I do not quite understand it."

In his first five months in office, Sandoval never called the American Bankers Association. He refused to meet with the black advisory council, and when he was notified that Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher had called a meeting anyway and wanted him to attend, Sandoval locked the doors at the SBA building. (He has since met with the council – the day after Pruitt's resignation became public.) Key Sandoval appointees were unable to get permanent civil service status. One, fellow Texan, Albert Fuentes, was fired shortly before being indicted on a charge of conspiracy to defraud the government. Finally, the White House quietly dispatched an aide to become SBA general counsel and straighten up the mess.

What is peculiar about Nixon's allowing the black capitalism program to slip into such disarray is that it remains as politically safe as it was when he first proposed it. While numerous critics of the idea have pointed out that setting up some Negroes in business will not cure the ghetto's ills, the proposal still has a considerable following that includes conservative bankers and leaders of the black establishment. There are indications that even some Southern congressmen figure that support for black capitalism is as good a way as any to pick up increasingly important black votes without offending white constituents.

Stephen Cotton

III - Rebuff in Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh

In *Requiem for a Heavyweight*, Jackie Gleason renders the movie's most depressing line when he laments, "I'm broke and in Pittsburgh." So are several hundred blacks who recently braved a rain of police riot sticks to protest discriminatory hiring policies of craft unions in the city's construction industry. Union members hit back and hate hangs heavy over the "shot-in-a-beer" town that bills itself as the "Renaissance City."

It all started with three days of marches in which the "Black Construction Coalition" succeeded in temporarily shutting down Pittsburgh's major construction projects at a price of 215 arrests, two score injured, and one wild morning that saw police wielding clubs freely, confiscating incriminating film from the cameras of marchers, and jailing newsmen and several nuns ("Sorry sister, say a Hail Mary for me").

Union members protested their lost pay in a 3,000-man "on-to-city hall" march that became the city's greatest frolic since the Pirates won the 1960 World Series. Municipal employees cheered their arrival, white-collar workers in nearby buildings tossed confetti, and police, who had clubbed Coalition marchers for "disrupting traffic," kept hands off as union men disregarded traffic lights and, according to the *Press*, "hopelessly tied-up traffic on Grant Street [a main

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artery] for more than a half-hour." When not looking the other way, police were greeting union demonstrators with smiles, handshakes, applause, and fists raised in victory salutes. Union ranks responded with pro-police placards like one cardboard sampler that bore the invocation, "God Bless Our Police." (Other signs: "Wallace for President. He Will Fix the Blacks" and "We Want to Earn. They Want to Burn.") Shouts of "White Power" were hurled at passing black motorists. When a 75-man union contingent barged into the mayor's office (roughing up a CBS network reporter and cameraman on the way), the backlashy police superintendent, James W. Slusser leaped on a table and gave the workers priestly assurance that no demonstrators (blacks) will "violate your right to work." His acolytes responded with "Slusser for Mayor." Coalition members anticipated the possibility of being clubbed by the 22-inch riot sticks of the police. But neither they nor their brothers and sisters who make up this city's 20 percent black population expected to be psychologically clubbed by a large segment of the white community.

Only two office-holders said anything remotely sympathetic while the marches were taking place. One, lame-duck Mayor Joseph M. Barr, was largely responsible for arranging negotiations. The other, State Representative Gerald Kaufman, marched with the Black Coalition. A third, black councilman Louis Mason (considered a "Tom" by militants), managed to issue a statement chastising the unions. Two usually talkative men, one of whom will be Pittsburgh's next mayor, were silent. When the crisis was over, both put themselves on record favoring everybody. Republican John Tabor issued a news release on how to deal with campus disorders. The sole newspaper contribution from Democrat Peter F. Flaherty, the likely winner, was a photograph showing him accepting an invitation to a picnic of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Thomas A. Hennessy

VIETNAM

The President's Fading Hope

by John Osborne

Those for whom the announcement last week of a second reduction of American forces in Vietnam was a joyous occasion did not include Mr. Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger, the President's chief foreign policy adviser. Kissinger is known to be in a mood of profound pessimism about the prospects of bringing the war to the kind of end that he had led Nixon to think attainable, and the President must be supposed to share his mentor's deepening doubts. The Kissinger design for drawing Hanoi into the negotiation of a settlement short of "a disguised American defeat" has not worked out in a single respect since the President presented it as his own on May 14. There is no confidence at the White House that the death of Ho Chi Minh, the continuing reduction of the American combat presence in Vietnam, or any other present or foreseeable factor will set it to working. There is, on the contrary, a growing apprehension that the course principally devised by Kissinger and taken by the President has served only to convince Ho's heirs in Hanoi that they have only to wait, and not much longer, for the victory that they already claim.

One of the bitter ironies of the dilemma in which Mr. Nixon finds himself is that this possibility was foreseen. Nobody could be more aware than Henry Kissinger of the oddity of trying to bring a determined foe to the desired terms by reducing rather than increasing military pressure. When he first detailed his "generous and reasonable peace offer" in May, the President emphatically ruled out "a one-sided withdrawal from Vietnam" and proposed mutual American and North Vietnamese withdrawal "on a mutually agreed timetable." Nevertheless, the "one-sided withdrawal" no-win process was contemplated from the first and was publicly added, at Midway Island, to the Kissinger design within less than a month. It was deemed necessary in order to win from the American public the patience, the time, the support for "a program which can lead to a peace we can live with and a peace we can be proud of" for which Nixon pleaded at the end of his May pronouncement.

Behind it, however, was another calculation, a calculation basic to the plans and hopes of the Administration and one that, so far, has proved to be mistaken. This was that Hanoi would perceive in the Nixon proposals and in a gradual transfer of the combat burden

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from American to South Vietnamese ground forces a choice between indefinitely prolonged warfare, with no chance of winning full control of South Vietnam, and a shortened war with, at its end, a chance – perhaps a very good chance – of winning that control by political rather than military means.

How Nixon, and Kissinger (identified elsewhere as the "White House source" who has expounded and justified the Nixon policy to the press at critical points since it was announced) could have believed or even hoped that such a choice would draw Hanoi and the Vietcong leadership into useful negotiation is a mystery if the Administration approach to peace is viewed only in its public context. One of the Administration's difficulties is that it cannot, or anyhow feels that it cannot, set forth in public and more than imply in private the truth and whole context which has been conveyed to Hanoi in many ways through many channels. The offered prospect has been no more persuasive to Hanoi in the conveyed context than the public version has been to the Administration's American critics. But the President's hopes for its success, not yet dead but surely dying, become more understandable and less absurd if the implications underlying the declared policy are taken into account.

All of the important implications are inherent in the President's May statement that "we are prepared to accept any government in South Vietnam that results from the free choice of the South Vietnamese people themselves." This and the accompanying proposals for supervised elections have been interpreted to signify nothing more than a cover for American commitment to the Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon. But Hanoi and the Vietcong's political leadership have been invited to read much more than that into the official rhetoric and to believe that a result much more attractive to them is possible, if only they will enter into serious negotiation in Paris and so collaborate with the United States in lending the appearance of "free choice" to the negotiated result. Ho when he was alive, and now his heirs, have been urged to discern and believe that the United States, among other things, no longer considers that a Communist regime or a coalition regime including Communists and dominated by them, in the end if not initially, would necessarily endanger American security. This in turn is intended to be a signal to Hanoi and the Vietcong that the premise which drew the US into the war no longer obtains and that the potential range of terms for an acceptable settlement is therefore much wider than the President finds it politic to indicate publicly. Evidence of the Administration's extreme anxiety to get the point over to Hanoi, and to condition the American public for gradual disclosure of it, was provided by Secretary of State William P. Rogers at a press conference on August 20. He said openly what had previously been said only in private White House briefings: that is, that the US is willing to let the Vietcong retain control, after a negotiated end of the war, of any areas of South Vietnam that it may then occupy.

Official discretion apart, a factor that has obscured the prospect actually held out to Hanoi is the impression that the Administration is, at Kissinger's instance, committed to a "two-track" technique of negotiation – leaving the vital political negotiations to the present and manifestly intransigent Saigon regime and confining the American delegation in Paris to military issues. Nixon in fact said in May, and Hanoi has been forcefully reminded since, that the US is prepared to negotiate both military and political issues whenever Hanoi and the Vietcong leadership are ready for substantive negotiation. Hanoi has been told, by every means short of open declaration, that it may expect far more generous terms from the US than it can expect from the Saigon government – an impression that the recent appearance of dissent between Washington and Saigon over response to Hanoi's proposal of a three-day cease-fire in honor of Ho was bound and may have been intended to strengthen.

The primary reason for the President's delay in announcing his second troop reduction, originally promised for August, and the terms in which it was finally announced and explained on Sept. 16, tend to affirm all that has been said here. Private elaboration of the Nixon peace proposals having failed to lure Hanoi to substantive negotiation, and the start of "one-sided withdrawal" having patently enhanced its conviction that the US is on the run from Vietnam, the President and his advisers concluded that it was imperative to demonstrate to Hanoi that the disengagement process is not irreversible. But a brief delay was the most that seemed to be politically possible at home, all that could be risked in view of domestic disenchantment with what the President has called "this dreary, difficult war." So the second reduction was a modest one (24,000 to 35,000 below Sept. 1 levels, depending on whether you figure from authorized or actual levels); it was stretched out to December 15; and the emphasis at the White House briefing customary on such occasions, was less upon the figures than upon the implication that the President can in fact delay or halt the whole process if Hanoi and Vietcong action in the field and at Paris moves him to do so.

The formal announcement, with its catalogue of public American proposals for "meaningful negotiations," amounted to an open and all but strident appeal to Hanoi to recognize that this Administration is prepared to be flexible and sensible – these words were reiterated orally with the greatest emphasis – if only Hanoi will indicate at Paris some willingness to negotiate and compromise. *Compromise* was another emphasized word, in terms meaning that the Nixon proposals are subject to very broad compromise. Nixon

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himself has said that everything is negotiable except the right of free choice in South Vietnam, and the "White House source" who spoke for him last week placed no more stress than he obviously had to upon the caveat.

Questions remain, questions that will plague the Administration and compound the gloom at the White House if Hanoi continues to refuse all productive response. Why not, for a starter, acknowledge that we do not have and never had any business in Vietnam and get out? Nixon in his May speech gave the Administration's best answer to that one: ". . . The urgent question today is what to do now that we are there, not whether we should have entered on this course, but what is required of us today." If a coalition that includes Vietnamese Communists may be acceptable at some point, why not meet Hanoi's most insistent demand now and grant it now, inevitably dumping the Thieu-Ky regime when we do it? Nixon again: "That would mean a surrender on our part, a defeat on our part," and it would subject countless Vietnamese to reprisals "that would shock and dismay everyone in the world who values human life."

And – what kind of presence does the US intend to sustain in the postwar Vietnam it wants, or in a South Vietnam doing more and more of its own fighting? Nixon has said that, given real negotiation, the US would accept "a neutralist" South Vietnam, but he has yet to say just what he means by that. He also has never said, but it is quite clear, that the protracted warfare threatened as an alternative to a war ended by negotiation would require a massive, indefinite American military presence in the forms of air and naval support and perhaps 250,000 American troops – five times the number now maintained in South Korea – instructing, supplying and otherwise assisting the "Vietnamized" Army of South Vietnam. This last, of course, is intended to repel, not attract, Hanoi and the Vietcong, but it does attract them in a curious way. They clearly assume, and the Administration fears that they rightly assume, that the American public and Congress would not tolerate that situation for very long.

A final question, the question that haunts the Nixon White House more than any other, is: what do we do if every Nixon bid for "a peace we can live with" fails as the bids to date have failed? I doubt that the President, or Henry Kissinger, or anyone else in the Administration knows the answer to that one.

Troop Withdrawal: 1899

After the United States victory over Spain, the McKinley regime had, in February 1899, begun hostilities with the Philippine independence movement in order to make good its claim to Spain's former colony. But by the end of April the Administration felt a profound shock in the form of massive opposition to the war, led by the Anti-Imperialist League with headquarters in Boston.

There were 12,000 volunteer soldiers, mainly from the South and West, out of some 30,000 troops in the Philippines. They had volunteered for the war with Spain, and with its end, they were eligible for discharge, or they could reenlist. It was the demand to bring these troops home that rocked the McKinley Administration.

Early in February the California Senate requested that the First California Regiment be sent back as soon as troops could be spared. In March, relatives and friends of the men in the Tenth Pennsylvania got letters from Manila reporting that death and casualty figures for the volunteers were being suppressed, and that mortality exceeded all published announcements. In April a public meeting in Nashville asked for the return of the Tennessee regiment. Relatives and friends of the Oregon volunteers, supported by the newspapers of that state, called for bringing back their boys "who never enlisted for such a war." Governor Geer of Oregon refused to heed the request, but Governor Lund of Minnesota, in a message to the legislature, urged the immediate muster out of the men from that state and the newspapers of all shades of opinion approved. In South Dakota, the governor joined in the popular demand for the return of the volunteers, writing President McKinley that the Philippine war was "repugnant to the fundamental principles of the government," and that the South Dakota men were being held in the army against their will. Parents of several hundred members of the First Nebraska Regiment demanded that "the government send back home those who have not contributed their precious fever-stricken or bullet-torn bodies to enrich the soil of Luzon."

More worrisome to the Administration, perhaps,

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than these protests were signs of disaffection among the soldiers themselves. On March 30 the *Boston Evening Transcript* carried an uncensored dispatch from Manila, via Hong Kong, to the effect that "a majority of the United States volunteers are eager to return home . . . 'we did not enlist to fight niggers' is a remark that is constantly heard." (The dispatch also reported the view of an outstanding general in the Philippines that it would take 100,000 US troops to subdue the islands.) The *Philadelphia Times* printed a letter telling of the unanimous vote of the Tenth Pennsylvania volunteers against serving after their original enlistment expired. Governor Lund made public a telegram from the Third Minnesota volunteers demanding that "the regiment must be ordered home and mustered out of the service at once."

Since the start of the war, General Otis, in charge at the Philippines, had repeatedly claimed that it was nearly over, which assurance the Administration had passed on to the public. The general had told Washington that he would need no more troops and that the volunteers would reenlist. (In the second week of April Washington admitted that only about seven percent of them would reenlist, even when offered a bounty of $500 per man.) Clearly the general needed a scapegoat, and the Administration shared his need. McKinley was singularly anxious to avoid calling up more troops, for obvious reasons.

Toward the end of April the government was caught between the popular opposition to the war, registered most acutely in the demands for volunteer withdrawal, and its own intention to continue the war until military victory had been won over the Philippine insurgents. The McKinley Administration responded with both concessions and threats.

On April 18 the War Department announced that it expected to be able to make public soon the names of volunteer regiments which would be called home, and that probably three of these would be the Thirteenth Minnesota, the First South Dakota and the Tenth Pennsylvania, since powerful efforts had been made to secure their dismissal. Three days later a Washington dispatch to the *New York Tribune* asserted that the government would send 14,000 regulars to take the place of the 12,000 volunteers.

At the same time, the story was leaked from Washington (April 21) to a few select pro-war papers (of which the *Boston Herald* was one) stating that the cabinet meeting that day had "discovered that anti-expansionists in this country, believed to be connected with the Anti-Imperialist League, or influenced by it, have been sending letters or telegrams to the volunteers in the Philippines stirring them up to discontent, and that this is at the bottom of the pessimistic reports from Manila by way of Hong Kong, and the appeal for the recall of the volunteer regiments." General Otis had brought the matter to Washington's attention, reporting "seditious" cablegrams addressed to volunteer regiments. The Administration believed that this could be "considered constructive treason" and had decided to "expose the men who have been thus hampering the government."

Edward Atkinson, met this challenge headlong. A 72-year-old Boston insurance company executive, he had been a youthful abolitionist and supporter of John Brown. As soon as he heard of the cabinet's discussion he wrote his friend, Secretary of the Treasury Gage, saying that he believed the government mistaken in its belief that the Anti-Imperialist League was stirring up trouble among the troops in the Philippines, but the suggestion was "a valuable one," worth trying. Then he sent off a letter to Secretary of War Alger asking for lists of names of officers and privates in the Philippines so that he could send them large numbers of anti-war pamphlets of his own writing. When the War Department failed to answer he sent copies of his pamphlets (entitled "The Hell of War," "The Cost of a National Crime," "Criminal Aggression") to General Otis, Admiral Dewey, two other generals and a couple of civilian worthies in Manila, "as a test."

The cabinet met without delay. Postmaster General Smith announced that he would remove Atkinson's pamphlets from the mails at San Francisco. The Attorney General declared the Boston businessman to be, without doubt, guilty of treason and subject to heavy prison sentence and fine. The pamphlets were indeed seized, but since neither party to the dispute did anything more to further it, the confrontation between Atkinson and the federal government ended quickly. But not before a national debate about it opened up, in which most of the papers supported the government. The anti-war *Springfield* (Mass.) *Daily Republican* expressed the attitude of most of those who supported Atkinson. It doubted the "propriety" of the Boston man's attempt, but declared that the action of the cabinet against him "was at bottom an attempt to intimidate the opposition generally and attack free speech."

If the government sought to silence the opposition with talk of treason, it failed. After a momentary hesitation, the Anti-Imperialist League resumed its agitation for negotiations to end the hostilities on the basis of Philippine independence.

Still, the McKinley Administration's concession on the question of volunteer withdrawal removed from the anti-imperialist leadership what was, at the moment, their most effective support in the thousands of American families who wanted their sons back home.

D. B. Schirmer

D. B. SCHIRMER, *who taught history at Boston University, is at work on a lengthy study of the anti-imperialist movement.*

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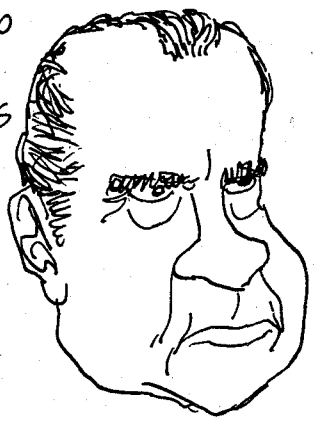
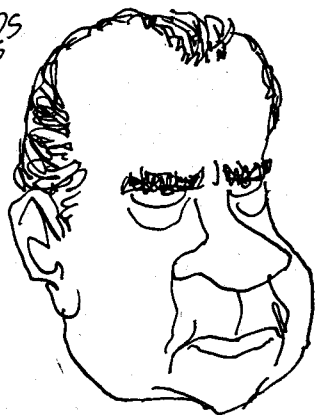
JULES FEIFFER

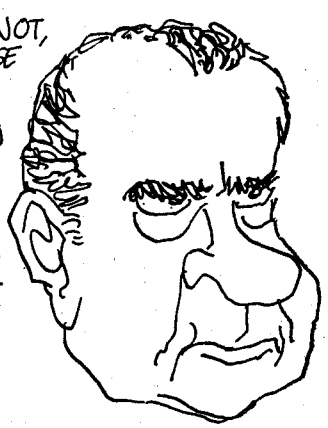
SKEPTICS DO NOT BUILD SOCIETIES. THE IDEALISTS ARE THE BUILDERS.



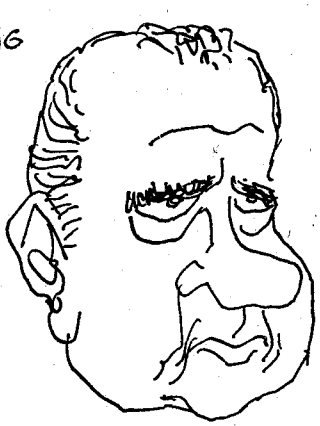
A NATION NEEDS MANY QUALITIES BUT IT NEEDS FAITH AND CONFIDENCE ABOVE ALL.



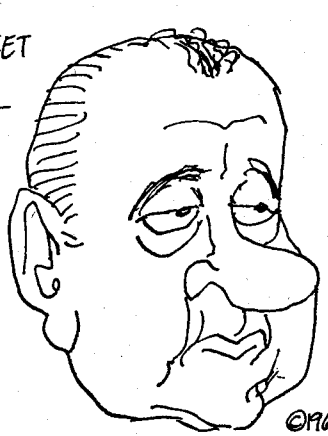
LET US NOT, THEN, POSE A FALSE CHOICE BETWEEN MEETING OUR RESPON-SIBILITIES ABROAD-



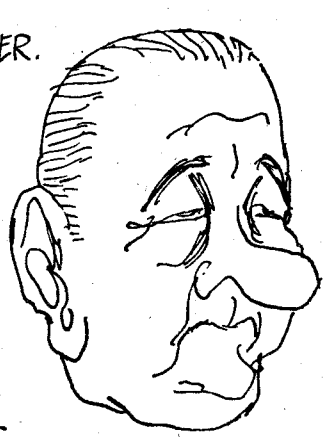
AND MEETING THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE AT HOME.



WE SHALL MEET BOTH OR WE SHALL MEET-



NEITHER.



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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Spirits of the Dead
(American International)

Alice's Restaurant
(United Artists)

Go to see *Spirits of the Dead* about an hour after it begins. It's a three-part film – three Poe horror stories made by three different directors. The first two are silly bores, by the justly disregarded Roger Vadim and the greatly overrated Louis Malle. The third is by Federico Fellini. And his horror story is joyous.

Joyous, not because Fellini has no sense of the macabre – after all, his story ends with decapitation! – but because he revels in making films and because his darting invention never stops playing around and through the picture, so that even this film of terror plunges us into a sort of Satanic champagne. Fellini's career easily divides into two periods: the first, in which his cinematic mind serves his humanist concerns; the second, in which his humanist concerns are the base for stylist exultation. (*La Dolce Vita* is the transitional film between the two periods.) This short film is very much a matter of execution, not content; although I don't suppose there is a "new" visual concept in it, Fellini's familiar ideas are still exciting.

Toby Dammit, liberally adapted from Poe's "Never Bet the Devil Your Head," is about a sodden English film star (Terence Stamp) as he arrives in Rome to make a Western that will allegorize the myth of Redemption. Stamp, as we can see and the others cannot, is haunted by the devil in the figure of a sly little girl who bounces a white ball. Why Stamp is bedeviled, what the root and resolution are in his little drama – unless Satan is out to keep him from committing sacrilege! – these are never made clear. The film is as hollow as the devil-child's white ball, but how it bounces!

All the latter-day Fellini hallmarks cascade by: the grotesquerie of reality (a street-paving crew who suddenly look like Inquisition torturers) and of exaggeration (faces – some of them familiar – wearing exaggerated makeup like documents of their past); the flirting fun with the Church (nuns in files and sincerely phony priests); the quick, sharp character touches (as a producer sits down to talk, he runs a comb through his hair); the editing that lets us see the image just long enough for the after-image to touch the next shot; the whirling motion, at the center of which is a smiling mind; the feeling that there is too much, too much, and how wonderful it is to be in the company of a man who has too much.

Sparkling as it is, *Toby Dammit* is not as good as Fellini's previous short film, *The Temptation of Dr. Antonio* in *Boccacio '70*. *Dr. Antonio* was a simple anti-moralistic morality tale, but its very simplicity made the complex visual style tickle. The new script is a solo for Stamp, with various accompaniments, but it never much engages us as a morality drama and Stamp has little chance to do more than look damned, which he certainly does. But from the first moments of his arrival in Rome (echoing Anita Ekberg's arrival in *La Dolce Vita*) on through a TV interview that made one TV interviewer (myself) wriggle with its truth, to a sort of Italian Oscar-award ceremony, the switch is turned, the motors are humming, Fellini is flying. And if a director is going to concentrate on style, as he does here, short films are better than long ones, for an obvious reason. I wish the script of *Toby Dammit* were more diabolical, but Fellini's deviltry is almost enough.

The costumes by Piero Tosi (who did *The Leopard*) are in the tradition of those that Piero Gherardi has done for Fellini, revealing possibilities for contemporary clothes that are quite logical and quite extraordinary. The photography by Giuseppe Rotunno is excellent. (By inference. The print being shown in New York is abominable.) The editing by Ruggero Mastroianni (Marcello's brother) is up to the very high level of his past Fellini films. And the score is, as usual, by Nino Rota, whom Fellini calls "a man made of music, an angelic friend."

One point about Fellini's lighting is specially interesting. In his recent films the lighting has been much more theatrical than realistic: low angles, profiles cut out of the dark, the frequent recurrence of silhouettes, and the changes of light during a shot. In *Toby Dammit* an additional theatricalism is clear. Throughout, but especially in the TV interview and in the award ceremony, scenes are lighted like stages and are surrounded by dark, the place in the world is treated like a setting in a theater, and we get the feeling that these lives – by implication, our lives – are being enacted before an unseen audience. Before whom? Perhaps Fellini has remained more of a Catholic than he likes to admit.

Arlo Guthrie's ballad "Alice's Restaurant" is casual, pleasant, funny, and youthfully free, and Arthur Penn's film of the same title tries for the same qualities. Formally, this was a natural move for Penn; in his last film, *Bonnie and Clyde*, he imposed a ballad form on his story, and here he has begun with a ready-made ballad. There is of course a radical difference in the possibilities of the material, and considering that Penn opted for lyrical and meandering material, difficult to sustain in film, he has had some success in recreating its moods.

Guthrie's song, as thousands know, is about his arrest for littering in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and how his subsequent criminal record turns out to be a boon when he is called up for military induction. Penn, who wrote the script with Venable Herndon, uses this slight narrative both as goal and springboard. We see Guthrie before the incident, traveling the country, spending some time in a college, visiting his dying father (the famous Woody) in a New York hospital, and living with Alice and Ray Brock in Stockbridge. The Brocks, in their thirties, have taken over a deconsecrated church and have made it into a hippie hostel. Alice also runs a restaurant nearby. Arlo's slim story is supplemented by hippie parties, Brock marital troubles, the story of a hippie sculptor on heroin and how he doesn't break the habit, and the closure of the church at the end to form a commune in Vermont.

Penn has ability, and he cannot make a film without giving it some distinctions. There is a lot in this film that is very easy to take. Not much of it will bear close examination, aesthetic or otherwise, but a good deal of it – trips (both meanings), comic induction sketches of the Second City or Committee kind, cozy joshing of the police – all these are amiable. Penn is not a

(Continued on page 33)

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Joseph Featherstone: The Real Thing in Teaching

The Logic of Action: From a Teacher's Notebook

by Frances Pockman Hawkins

(Elementary Science Advisory Center, University of Colorado; $1.95)

Frances Pockman Hawkins is a gifted teacher who spent every Thursday of a spring semester with six deaf nursery school children in a Colorado public school. This was a special program, bristling with designs and elaborate purposes, but the authorities were wise enough to give Mrs. Hawkins a pretty free rein. (They must have wondered about all the things she kept trucking into the school: equipment for making bubbles, tire pumps, plastic tubes, a hamster, food coloring, water trays, balances, and hundreds of other items to stock an informal classroom.) *The Logic of Action: From a Teacher's Notebook* is a series of notes, photographs, and reflections in the form of a running daily log of each class session – how it went, what particular children spent their time doing, what Mrs. Hawkins did – as well as what she refrained from doing – and what was in her mind as she taught. Each entry starts off with a list of new equipment introduced – there's an appendix with useful notes about it all – and then a narrative of the day's teaching and learning follows.

Almost any attempt to describe what goes on in a good classroom fails, and every reader will face points in this log when he is not being told enough, or when he is being told too much. Nonetheless, Mrs. Hawkins is an extremely shrewd observer, and her individual sketches of the children are delightful. She is keen to distill an occasional abstract principle from her experiences, and passages in these notes have the muffled, occasionally dense quality that nearly always marks the efforts of good teachers to pin down their art in words and general terms: the brilliance poises on the edge of portentousness, and only her massive common sense and her instinct for detail keeps her upright. The reader is standing on a heaving deck that is likely to pitch him from soap bubbles and giggles to very different levels of discourse: "Attention is a close cousin of love, and one does not speak of training someone to love, but rather of providing the right setting."

What emerges is an original and fascinating sketch of what one experienced teacher is thinking about as she teaches. Mrs. Hawkins has illuminating things to say about her deaf charges, but this is really a book about teaching all children, rich or poor, wounded or whole. Those likely to read it with the greatest interest are the growing number of teachers and parents concerned with developing alternatives to formal teaching. They will find that it has one virtue that few books about free schools and classrooms possess: it really is about what an adult has to contribute to children's learning. While she believes as passionately as anyone in environments where children are free to pursue their own learning independently, Mrs. Hawkins does not believe that such environments come about by accident. In the beginning, at least, a teacher has the responsibility for creating a setting, choosing the materials, arranging the stage. And as the children learn, as they choose, the teacher still has further decisions to make: when to step in, when to keep quiet, what kind of help to give. It is an elusive, complex process.

At first, for example, she saw that her children, perhaps because they were deaf, clung to routine more than most four-year-olds she had met; they reminded her of older children, trained by the schools to rely less and less on their own experiences. So her tactics included deliberate small interruptions of routine, to wean them from the ordinary and get them used to novelties:

> Whatever *I* did was immediately copied, and, as one must when this happens, I had to change what I started as quickly as possible, providing more than one way to copy, thus sanctioning and inviting variety. . . . When a group of fives produces replica upon replica of one paper ornament, it is time to watch for and dignify, perhaps hanging from a mobile, one child's "mistake" – one hard to copy and thus conducive to the production of still more mistakes.

The point of the enterprise is, as she says, to help a child "regain and develop this capacity to probe and test, to summon his sleeping resources of imagery, control, and understanding – in short, to learn, and not to memorize." One avenue to a classroom where this is likely to happen is the teacher's own interests. If she herself is exploring the material and not just watching it being used, the odds of engaging a child's mind increase. There are, as Mrs. Hawkins demonstrates, innumerable things that adults and four-year-olds can pursue together. Mrs. Hawkins enjoyed watching water bubbles in the plastic tubes "falling upward," and argues convincingly that this shared interest was more valuable to the children than any amount of mere adult praise for their inventions. Her class suggests some of the richness inherent in good, open-ended science materials.

She is always conscious of herself as stage manager and catalyst. Sometimes the role is straightforward and simple, as when Patty takes up the attribute blocks to get away from the crowd and work on her own: "I protected her right to work there alone." Other times, as in planning to introduce new materials, there are many things to consider. Two long soundings from Mrs. Hawkins' flow of thought will have to suffice. Here she is thinking about artificial food coloring:

> [The materials here are] still in-

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herently new to most children, and esthetically vivid. It has been my experience that there is more enjoyment and exploration if the introduction of food color is "structured." On this particular morning . . . I made another judgment. A time for quieter activity with teacher involved was needed. Had the early part of morning followed another kind of pattern, I might have cancelled these plans. On a Monday morning, for example, after a cold and confining weekend, I have found children so deeply in need of self-direction in familiar paths, with adults far in the background, that I have put away "structured" plans. Guidance at such times courts trouble . . .

And here she is thinking about setting up balances:

I wanted to introduce them, not head-on, but tangentially and in sequence with enough sure-fire old stuff so that the children would not rush all at once to the balances just *because* they were new. Such structuring has at least two justifications: it allows a child sufficient time to use a new piece of equipment without having at once to share or wait turns. Materials such as this yardstick-cum-weights-on-upright are more likely to "speak" to a child when there is time for continued experimentation. In addition . . . [this] approach provides a teacher the luxury of observation. . . .

In time, most of the children followed their separate paths to the realization that not all things had to be demonstrated. Some, perhaps, knew this all along but were not used to acting on it in practice.

Mrs. Hawkins makes no attempt to sum up the significance of her role, and that is probably wise, for it is built up from thousands of such small specific concerns: ranging from making sure to take great pains in presenting the delicate acetate gels – colored sheets to look through – to the children, so they treat them with proper care, to remembering to start cleaning up early enough so the children have time to unwind. Most people who read these notes may be inclined to say that all this simply reflects the fact that Mrs. Hawkins is a remarkable person. That goes without saying. Yet many of the concerns she touches on are to some degree those of all good teachers of children of all ages. They come naturally to some, and by experience to others; each would certainly describe how he works in a different way.

This is only a notebook, the sketches leave you with an unfinished feeling. It doesn't pretend to tell teachers what to teach, although it is full of good suggestions. It merely presents a series of working illustrations of principles in practice. Through it, a philosophy of education is struggling to be heard, although in the absence of many more such classrooms and first-hand teachers' accounts, we will never be able to articulate it realistically, without dogma or cant.

Note: Pantheon Books is this month publishing Elwyn Richardson's *In the Early World*, the classic account of a teacher at work. And the department of education of the state of Vermont, where there has been a stirring of educational reform, has put out a pamphlet, "Vermont Design for Education." In an unpretentious way this little publication spells out the aims of good schooling. Statements of aims alone will not take us very far: A recurring vice in all our discussions of education is the habit of separating means from ends, the persistent, inane elaboration of goals without any specific considerations of how they are to be achieved. But in the vast desert of official discourse, a humane and sensible statement of what the process of education should be is like an oasis. It would be wonderful if, over the years, Vermont's schools started living up to it. Of course, if they did achieve all these things – if the emphasis really did turn from teaching to learning, if the schools really did treat people as individuals, and all the rest – then learned experts and consultants would have to be brought in to prove that Vermont is a special case, and that the Vermont "model" would never do for children in Harlem.

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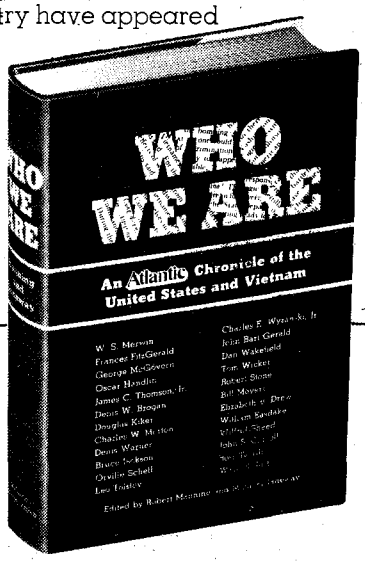

COMING

Phillip Whitten

on

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Cutting the Macaroni

Stephen S. Rosenfeld: The Travels of Allen Ellender

The Congress harbors no more relentless and singleminded traveller than the 79-year-old senior Senator from Louisiana. For more than two decades, Allen J. Ellender has – to be precise – *trotted* the globe in pursuit of evidence of various follies of American policy. Since 1955 his findings have been recorded in nine public reports covering 184 country visits. That these "books" (the Senator's word) have received slight notice, that a few highly mockable episodes and lines have alone been culled out by the media, and that other Senators have been hailed recently for insights he arrived at a decade or more ago – all this is accepted by Ellender with gentle regret. He attributes the lapse chiefly to his reputation as a Southern conservative in domestic, especially racial, affairs.

In a real sense, all Ellender's trips have begun at home, on the isolated and then "poor" farm, Hardscrabble Plantation in Terrebonne Parish, where he grew up. While other boys were in school, he was weighing sugar and keeping the books for the family enterprise. His formal schooling, before undertaking graduate studies at Tulane, spanned only four months. To this day he believes that a nation's strength is measured not by its military or industrial power but by its capability of producing what he refers to in tandem as "food and fiber." Ellender came to the United State Senate in 1937; only Richard Russell is now senior to him. He heads the Agriculture Committee – his chairmanship, his back-home occupation (farmer), his hobby (cooking) and his occasional metaphors ("seeds of freedom," "grassroots information") fit nicely.

As a Depression legislator Ellender was a natural follower of the New Deal, which he trimmed to the shape of his own constituency and his own Puritan Ethic: it was the Federal Government's obligation to help the poor, but especially the rural poor and, among them, the poor who manifested some talent at helping themselves. Simple misery is not an adequate qualification for aid: "I lose patience with people who are poor and won't take advice." The New Deal political formula – an expectation of gratitude and loyalty in exchange for services rendered – informed his foreign outlook when, after his wife's death in 1949, he began taking his long trips abroad.

At first he travelled with other Senators and with a staff, but he soon sloughed off both; they cramped his go-go style and kept him from screening every grain of his findings himself. An assertively unbookish and self-reliant man, he has consistently neglected the works of other observers (and stubbornly opposed USIA programs aimed at intellectuals). The only investigative method he knows and trusts is look and listen. This gives his reports 19th-century simpleness, as well as a certain rustic charm.

To each US post on his itinerary Ellender customarily sends an advance questionnaire. (Only the CIA is spared; a member of the Congressional group that ostensibly oversees the CIA, he treats the agency tenderly and, one gathers, confines himself overseas merely to asking whether CIA and State Department political reporting overlap.) Upon arrival at a post, he checks out the questionnaire. Prevented once from debarking in Tanganyika (for having remarked at an earlier stop that "I have yet to see any part of Africa where Africans are ready for self-government"), he summoned American diplomats to the boiling airplane in which he was penned and grilled them until takeoff. His energy is fantastic – "when I get interested in something I don't stop." He sits up late at night making jottings in tiny notebooks which he pouches back one by one for transcribing. He writes his own reports, including as appendices in agate type the copious data furnished him on, for instance, "Project 02-18-041. To assist in increasing the snapper catch, a US fisheries adviser is spending two months in [then-British] Guyana demonstrating modern snapper fishing aids."

Ellender prose has the sophistication of a seed catalogue. He discovers water

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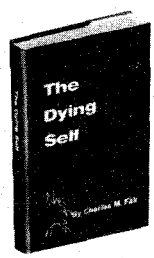

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in the canals of Venice; "I was told," he reports, that "there is very little free love in Russia." He is square and unselective: "The worker using a huge knife cuts the macaroni into 8-inch lengths." "Ceylon," we learn, "is a small island located near the southern tip of India;" chez Chiang Kai-sek, "the Chinese food served was the best I have ever tasted." But there is an impressive amount of hard information and interesting observation. The wheat, to be sure, comes unseparated from a great deal of chaff, some diverting, most tedious: In Sudan, "I have never witnessed such cruelty to animals in my life. Huge sticks, cut from green acacia trees, were used to beat the cattle." In Haiti, "I sampled four different kinds of tropical fruit that he uses in ice cream. All were delicious, except one; I did not think much of avocado puree for ice cream."

His first published report, on his 1956 trip, bore the title "Report on Overseas Operations of the United States Government." He has since visited every American mission. His interest has expanded to cover foreign aid, propaganda, military activities, diplomacy and overall policy. At the same time he has kept up surveillance of embassy administration, perusing (and publishing) titles of all publications subscribed to by each USIS, listing each vehicle in the embassy motor pool, inquiring after rent and char costs, demanding justification for each employe and expenditure. Ellender has a copy of a memo, stamped "Confidential," in which the Army's Assistant Chief of Staff advises 22 attaches on the Senator's 1957 itinerary to restrict the release of information and report immediately ("air pouch") on his visit.

At his worst an insensitive lintpicker, at his best Ellender rummages beyond a hunt for waste and duplication into a kind of political and economic cost-efficiency analysis. Over the years he has developed a keen sense of how programs proliferate, often by feeding on each other, until the dimensions of the American presence can scarcely be measured, let alone controlled. For example, in Guatemala in 1957 he found USIS spending two-thirds of its resources selling the aid program: ". . . unconscionable . . . to expend such a great effort in trying to tell the people that the foreign-aid program is going to solve their problems. Nothing could be further from the truth." In Japan a year earlier, he found that US "planners" (generally "eager") had imprudently undertaken a protein project specifically rejected by the Japanese parliament and that the US information program had then been turned to counter the resultant bad publicity.

A few months ago, the Senator reported that the presence of military assistance advisory groups (4,056 officers and men in 48 countries) often "marks us as warmongers." "I am convinced," he complained, "that the personnel attached to these military missions are instrumental in influencing host governments to build up their armed forces and weaponry at our expense." Earlier he had contended that MAAGs were not wanted in some Latin countries "but we seem to persist in remaining there." He illustrates the breadth of the American presence in one country, Japan, by listing the agencies represented there besides State: Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, AEC, Agriculture, Bureau of Reclamation, Defense (embassy attaches and non-embassy advisers), FAA, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, General Accounting Office, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Maritime Administration, National Institutes of Health, National Science Foundation, Trade Center, Treasury, Customs, Travel Service, Information Service, Internal Revenue Service, and Library of Congress.

The concern over far-flung and far-reaching national "commitments" which many Americans have evinced since the Vietnam war is old hat to Ellender. He has worried about the openended nature of some formal agreements and about their subtle revision by events. "Unless we make it clear to the Government of the Philippines that our mutual security program is not a long-range effort, we may find ourselves placed in the position of being compelled to maintain the program in order to fulfill at least moral commitments made by our officials in the field," the Senator wrote in 1956.

Visiting Vietnam in that year, Ellender was informed by US officials that a new agrarian reform code "demonstrates in the village the [Vietnamese] Government's concern for rural people." Ellender concluded that "our aid effort here, instead of being directed to activities designed to raise living standards, is being used to fill the coffers of the Vietnamese Government." The United States, he found, was supporting "a rather large in-

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formation and propaganda program on behalf of the Government of Vietnam . . . another indication of the scope of our activities and the extent to which we have shouldered the burden of purely local governmental functions." Returning in 1961, he wrote: "My fear is that the cry of 'communism' is being used to pull our leg. . . . The people in [anti-Diem] areas permit, in fact invite, I was told, some infiltration from the north in order to strengthen their opposition to Diem. In Saigon, also, there are many dissidents who do not like President Diem's tactics in administration. . . . It is my belief that much of the trouble stems from within. . . . Boiling discontent threatens to erupt at any moment. . . . Some feel that we should send American troops here. I would not do so under any circumstances."

Periodically, Ellender stubbed his toe. He found "great progress" in Trujillo's Dominican Republic. In Haiti, "despite the filth, the people seem happy and content." South Africa's Verwoerd was "thoroughly realistic." Very often, nonetheless, he picked up the scent of danger – corruption in Rhee's Korea, American military influence in Greece, landholding anachronisms in Ceylon, regionalism in Nigeria.

For its proximity and resources Ellender has always deemed Latin America of first importance. Anticipating the Alliance for Progress, he recommended in 1958 that the US condition its loans on tax reform and "compel" American businessmen to pay fair wages, limit profits and participate in development. More distant distress moves him less. He was ready to write off India until he spotted last year some bootstrap progress – made in part, he submits, in response to his own farms-first spur. (Ellender has never hesitated to offer technical and political advice to world leaders, but generally holds that it would be inappropriate to claim credit when policies he has recommended pay off.) Africa strikes him as unsuitable for major American aid, because of its shortage of trained cadres on the one hand and its access to European help on the other – a judgment he made long before it silently became American policy.

The Senator has toured the Soviet Union five times. The mayor of Omsk threw him a 67th birthday party in 1957. I happened across his tracks in 1962 at a Volga dam whose chief engineer was positively bubbling over him. Once, denied use of an embassy phone by Ambassador Bohlen "because of strict objections at the Washington level," he strode out to the street, dialed the Kremlin from a pay phone, and almost instantly got an appointment with Mikoyan. ("I asked Mikoyan how General Zhukov was making out as a member of the Presidium. . . . He smiled. He said the general was a fine man and was doing well for his country. This on September 9, 1957, barely a month before Zhukov's ouster!") Ellender has expounded dutifully on the struggle between "state socialism" and "free enterprise." Nevertheless, he concedes that "communism has brought a new way of life to a people once left far beyond progress." His earlier desire to "demonstrate that communism cannot hold a candle to democracy in furthering the cause of individual freedom or bringing a better way of life" has not been abandoned. But it now must share room in his mind with his very direct and "Russian" interest in peace.

Until he met simple Russians on the street, Ellender confesses, he had obediently accepted the cold-war premises and budgets of successive Presidents. But in 1955, he says, "I went to Minsk, Orel, Odessa, Volgograd. The damage there from the Germans was useless, wanton. If only you were to *see* it." It hit him that the United States had deeply alarmed Russians by creating NATO, re-militarizing Germany and

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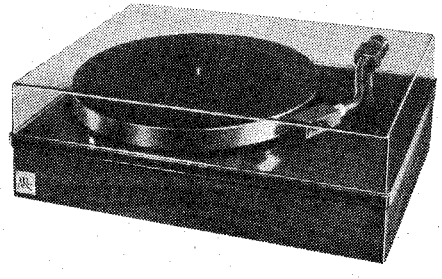

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building a "ring" of bases and clients around the Soviet Union. The way to dispel the Russian people's fear, he determined, was to pursue an active detente policy and to communicate directly with the people through unslanted radio broadcasts and extensive personal exchanges. Ellender recalls a moment at Yalta when a crowd gathered around him, "looked at my clothing, stroked my suit, they were amazed." The people's envy, he reasoned, would put pressure on their leaders to conduct more moderate policies. He takes the general run of Soviet development since then, on both the foreign and domestic sides, as validation of this idea.

Harry Truman's picture has the place of honor among the hundreds on Ellender's office walls, yet he blames Truman, though not alone, for engraining "the spending habit." In the heat of the Korean War, he wrote, Truman made the fateful post-Marshall Plan decision to give the "wonder drug" of American money to "the rest of the world," diverting spending from economic to military channels and then involving the United States practically everywhere in the name of "mutual defense" against communism. "The marriage between our Departments of State and Defense, which occurred during and soon after World War II, has been subverted. The leadership was allowed to pass to the Defense Department." Right or wrong, this analysis is astonishingly Fulbrightian, and that of many who wouldn't be caught dead agreeing publicly with Allen Ellender.

This is nothing to him. His views are his own. To the American diplomat who had escorted him to see Mikoyan, Ellender said: "The trouble with you goddam diplomats is, you have a chip on your shoulder. You see something good in Russia and you pass it over, you see something bad and you criticize. My approach was objective and that's why Mikoyan helped me." In his last report he wrote: "I can personally recall hearing a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff tell me that nothing had changed in the quality of Russian life, that no decentralization or loosening of any controls had taken place over the last two decades. The spokesman admitted that he had never been inside Russia. It seems to me that we have as much to fear from ignorance, prejudice, selfishness, and bias in our own Nation as we have from a similar condition on the part of the Russian leadership." That in sum is what Allen

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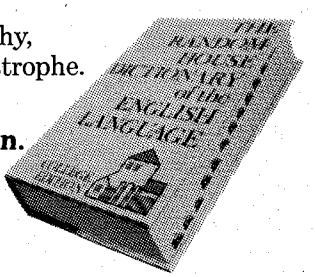

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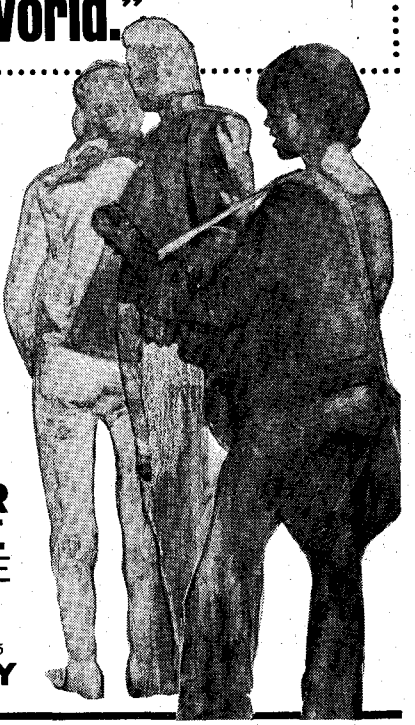

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STEPHEN S. ROSENFELD *is an editorial writer for* The Washington Post.

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Domesticating Two Landscapes

Where I wait, huge sea rhythms roll. Winds
cover chimes, flow on anonymous errands
to mornings after. Forgotten toast still burning,

I try to remember who it was that went down.
One of the crew? No use. "Walk on water," he said.
If somebody answers today I'll know I was afraid.

I can't hold my head above the laundry.
Every day out there, hulls and shells and ruined bodies
wash ashore. Women lament. Comb the beach

for signs or souvenirs, foam slapping at ankles,
faces tight. For years I watched them from the ridge.
Waves held me upright. That was earlier, somewhere

I can't go back to. Salt rises in my closed throat,
waves follow everywhere I run. The mountain
tells me I'll be crushed. Sea flushes

out of my ears. Bulk bears me down, rears
above the surface spitting rock. When an island saves
you from drowning it burns you out. Centuries to come

monastery bells may shimmer through sea-green silence
in lyric washes; stones melt on an unsuspecting town
hot from a friendly mountain to cast the skiing neighbors

in ceramic postures. The fluted empty cup
of a blueberry muffin, warm from the oven, stiffens
besides your plate. The cycle run, I go to join the washing,

hang it all on the line. Temperature at normal,
the frigidaire hums grace. Our bones follow, but
we keep them in their chairs. After the meal

you will know that the soft word from a cold tap
or the electric range, echoes uneasy
under snow and terrified of being heard.

MADELINE DEFREES

"Adam": Rodin

He dreams of his incalculable sons.

He is standing, and is dead, or in love, or
waiting to be born, even: flesh and bone flex
across his ribcage: his knee bends over

his private parts: he is coy: he is also
narcissistic, Adam, wishing himself back
to Eden and all that consummate blue:

behind him window frames shadow to a cross:
it is luck, only: it is wood and light and
luck, only: *Adam, come down out of this*

absurd conceit: open your eyes: your love burns
in us all: tell me you are not beautiful:
Adam, awake: let us pluck grapes from thorns.

HAROLD BOND

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Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Peace Corps Unrest

Sirs:

Paula Stern's Peace Corps story ("Uncivil War in the Peace Corps," August 23-30) was based on totally false premises. May I offer the facts?

1. She charged that the Peace Corps has sacrificed its traditional independence from other government agencies by yielding to a Department of Defense demand that a group of Volunteer lawyers be withdrawn from Micronesia. The fact is that neither the Department of Defense nor any other agency has ever made such a demand of me, or implied such a demand, in any form. Eight lawyers are now serving in Micronesia and are due to stay until they complete their regular two-year tours of duty in June of 1970. Our normal decision-making time for summer projects is in the fall; as I told Miss Stern, the Micronesia program is under a review that will determine which of next year's projects will be replaced. Had Miss Stern checked more closely, she would have found that the lawyers' program has been under fire from the Peace Corps itself. Dissatisfaction with the entire Micronesia program existed here since long before I arrived on the scene. If any programs are cut back, it will be due to a Peace Corps decision.
2. Miss Stern said that the general dissatisfaction among the Peace Corps staff is evidenced by "an estimated 90 percent turnover of senior staff." Had she checked our personnel records instead of relying on rumors, she would have found that the turnover in senior staff was actually seven out of seventeen; two of these had declared their plans to leave to the former Director Jack Vaughn long before anyone, including me, knew that I would replace Vaughn. She neglected to point out that the Peace Corps' normal annual staff turnover is a staggering 40 percent.
3. Finally, Miss Stern implies that my "new directions" – plans to recruit skilled workers and families with children – are vastly unpopular with Peace Corps staff and somehow misguided. I know of no member of my staff, past or present, who disagrees with me that we must open up the Peace Corps to wider participation, to these groups and to all other Americans. Not only does the Peace Corps in its present form effectively deny workers and families with children the opportunity to serve as Volunteers, it also deprives itself of access to an enormous pool of those very skills that are presently requested by our host countries. As I pointed out to Miss Stern, I have no intention of turning away the recent college graduate as a potential Peace Corps candidate; I do, however, want to draw more candidates from other walks of life. We will recruit small groups of workers and families with children for pilot projects this year. Surely it is unfair to assume, even before a trial of their abilities, that they will prove unable to do the job we and the requesting countries need them to do.

Joseph H. Blatchford
Director,
The Peace Corps

Sirs:

Re: Paula Stern's fine article, "Confronting the Pentagon in Micronesia" (August 23) Joe Blatchford does indeed plan to recruit more "middle aged, mid-career, experienced professionals and skilled workers," as you reported, but that's not all. What his proposals add up to is that he and the Nixon Administration are bent on turning their backs on the young people who have hitherto been responsible for the Peace Corps's unique contribution to this country's efforts abroad, despite the fact that the Peace Corps has been our only notable success in the international arena in this decade. From a tough, spare, effective if somewhat flurried organization of nondogmatic, antibureaucratic doers, the Peace Corps is to be converted into an agency of smug "experts" and technologists whose efforts have been so notably ineffective in AID, the Teacher Corps, and similar programs. An already frustrated and turned-off generation of alert young generalists will have the door to the only remaining opportunity for a briefly satisfying national service slammed in their faces. As a teacher and admirer of these young people and as a grateful alumnus of the Peace Corps, I can think of no greater catastrophe.

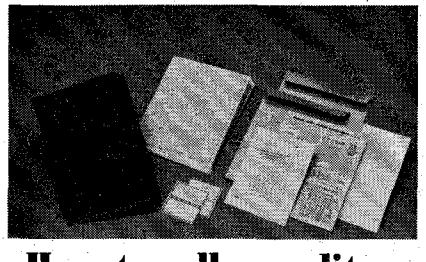
Robert D. Jaehnig
Pittsburgh, Pa.

IQ and Race

Sirs:

Christopher Jencks ("What Color Is IQ," Sept. 6-13) has conveyed well the bafflement of behavioral scientists in their attempts to find answers to the problem of the causes of differences in IQ among individuals and groups. The bewilderment is inevitable, and will last as long as does the concept of IQ – for the problem is on the order of "What constitutes the Ether?"

The IQ is a man-made construct. It is based on the assumption that individuals differ in innate intellectual ability and that this ability, and the differences, can be measured in early childhood. No matter how much we



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try to avoid this increasingly dubious assumption by juggling of definitions of terms, this is the entire reason for the existence of the term IQ.

It confuses two things that are easily separable: the child's observable increase in intellectual ability with age and his biological potential for intellectual achievement. The differences in the rate at which children's intellectual abilities develop obviously exist and seem to have a decided genetic component, which fully accounts for the similarity of IQ in identical twins reared apart. The second is something else, about which we know virtually nothing. We certainly do not know that a child with a slow development rate must end up inferior to one with a precocious rate of development. Individuals' IQs can change and change drastically, as many studies have shown; and a child slow to develop can end up a genius as well as the child who matured early, provided he is not early consigned to failure by the labels and expectations of anxious parents and lazy and harried teachers.

Jean Gregg Milgram
Philadelphia, Pa.

Sirs:

My article, "Intelligence and Race" (NR Sept. 13) contains a misprint. The text should have read: "Poorly educated black women who marry have more children than poorly educated white women who marry. Well educated white women who marry have more children than well-educated black women who marry. If (1) this difference holds when you include women who do not marry, and if (2) well-educated blacks are also high IQ blacks, and if (3) high IQ blacks are also genetically advantaged blacks, and if (4) racial differences in fertility patterns are of long-standing rather than of recent origin, and if (5) these differences have not been offset by other tendencies working in the opposite direction, there must now be an appreciable genetic difference between the typical black and the typical white."

As published, the first sentence of this rather complex argument read, "Poorly educated black women who marry have more children than *well* educated white women who marry." The fact that class differences in fertility are much greater among blacks than among whites was thus lost, and the logic of Professor Jenson's argument rendered incomprehensible.

Christopher Jencks
Cambridge, Mass.

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Preventive Dentention

Sirs:

In Alexander Bickel's stimulating piece "How to Beat Crime" (August 23-30), he evaluates the Nixon Administration's proposal for preventive detention of certain persons accused of federal crimes. Prof. Bickel fears that "hunch is bound to reign" and that this is "too great a danger to the innocent." How, he asks, can a judge predict rationally "proclivity to commit a further offense during a period of liberty before trial." Prof. Bickel has a point. But in fairness, it should be noted (and he does not so note) that the Administration's bill restricts consideration of preventive detention to those persons only who are charged with crimes of violence, *and* either are already out on bail (or other release) after previous arrest for similar crimes, or else have been convicted of such crimes during the preceding ten years. Hence a judge, in deciding whether or not to detain a suspect, would not be doing so in a vacuum. Moreover, as Prof. Bickel does intimate, before a judge can detain a suspect, he must find also that there is a "substantial probability" that the suspect committed the immediate offense charged.

Preventive detention legislation, even with the 60-day limit specified in the Administration bill, is surely a debatable option, both in terms of its constitutionality and of its wisdom as a matter of social policy. But in considering it as one of a congeries of measures designed to cope with our crime epidemic, it would seem prudent to weigh carefully its attempted safeguards, as well as its possible perils.

Samuel Rabinove
White Plains, N. Y.

Population Control

Sirs:

After detailing the many defects in India's population control program, Zalin Grant in "The Ford Condom in India's Future" (Sept. 6-13) asks, "But what can the US do?"

Two things which are of vital importance, neither of which is mentioned by Grant. First, we can put some real money into finding improved methods of birth control. What is urgently needed, in the words of Dr. Gerald LaVeck, Director of the National Institute of Child Health and Development, is "an array of contraceptive methods which are effective, safe, reversible, inexpensive, and suited to the diverse requirements of the world's various population groups." At the moment we are spending a few million a year on such research and development. Is it far-fetched to believe that if a significant fraction of the $25,000 million gobbled up by the Apollo program had been diverted into birth control research during the sixties, we might now be in a position to offer really effective help to countries like India which are threatened with cancerous population growth?

A second step the US could take would be to deemphasize family planning as our official approach to the problem of world population control. It is generally recognized by those who concern themselves with "the population explosion" that a large part of the problem results from the fact that people want too many children. Hence, family planning, even if ubiquitous, would not be a solution to the problem, but rather a cause of it. What we have to achieve in the world is a zero growth rate if a tolerable life is to possible for the majority of men for a reasonable length of time. . . .

A final note. Grant quotes John P. Lewis as having remarked concerning America's role in world population control: "When beginning a long marathon, it's important not to start like a sprinter." He also notes that many hope that US policy on foreign birth control will be a "cautiously reasoned policy, not influenced unduly by those Americans driven by a vision of the apocalypse." If to have a "cautiously reasoned policy" and "not to start like a sprinter" means that we should be careful not to exacerbate the

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problem we are trying to help solve, who could dissent? The Indian loop program was perhaps badly carried out. If so, we need no more such programs. But surely they are mistaken who view the population problem as one we can approach in a leisurely and terribly cautious way. The doubling time for the population of the world as a whole is now 35 years. There are about 70 million more mouths to feed every year. Yet food production per capita is expected to decline in the next decades. Moreover, between 50 and 70 percent of the world's people are *now* under- or malnourished, this group including 650 of the 900 million children. And it is not just a few "wild men in the wings" (to use McGeorge Bundy's immortal phrase) who predict catastrophe. Here are the words of William McElroy, President Nixon's newly appointed head of the National Science Foundation: "Some feel that the battle to feed the world population is now lost, and that it is a foregone conclusion that by 1975 we will have worldwide famines in which hundreds of millions of people will starve to death. I must admit that at this time I see no major crash program which would lead me to disagree with this conclusion"

Robert C. Coburn
Professor of Philosophy
University of Chicago

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

director of strong, recognizable character, he is a responder to influences; and he is more interesting here, responding to hippie-ballad influences, than under the influences that produced such grandiose, vacuous responses as *Mickey One* and *The Chase*.

But the fact of his being a visitor on the hippie scene makes some things clear about himself and also about the scene. First, Penn is a great believer in redemption through Beauty. In *Alice* there is a scene of the heroin addict's burial, shot in a snowfall. (The influences are various Japanese directors, together with Fellini groupings.) It's as egregiously Beautiful as anything I've seen since the meeting between the wounded Bonnie and Clyde and the Okies by the stream. Penn evidently thinks that if he just rears back and makes Beauty, it gives a scene validity and conviction. It was not true of the *Bonnie and Clyde* sequence. (Why should those bandits have been treated like People's Heroes in the Soviet?) And the use of Beauty here is even less redemptive because there isn't even a mistaken conviction behind it, it is just aping of the attitudes of the East Village. While the snow falls, Joni Mitchell sings "Songs to Aging Children," as if some special holy innocence were being committed to the earth. But I can't see why this boy's death is any more tragic or martyrish than the drug-death of a Puerto Rican slum-dweller or a Bowery derelict, to both of whom the hippies might seem stupid freaks. All that we know specifically in this case is that if Alice had slept with this boy more, he might have stayed off drugs. But Penn buys all the hippie tenets of innate superiority and purity without any examination at all.

And carries them further. In *Easy Rider*, made by young men, Peter Fonda is shown as a young sage-martyr. Penn pushes the concept and makes Arlo Guthrie a considerable prig. Every time Arlo gets in trouble with college authorities or police or anyone else because of his outstanding honesty and simplicity, he says something aw-shucks on the sound-track about "Seems like I have this habit of gettin' arrested," or some variation of it, as modestly heroic as you please. At one point he works in a night-club owned by a middle-aged woman. (She knew his daddy in the Movement, for gosh sakes. How old can you *get!*) When she tries to make him, he recoils and prefers to be fired, with a purity that would have done Ruby Keeler proud when Paul Porcasi tried to put his greasy mitts on her back in '30s night-club flicks. When a mid-teens groupy takes her clothes off to lay him and tells him that she has made it with a number of rock performers, he is nobler than Gary Cooper in refusing to commit statutory rape. And since Arlo, played by Arlo, is a pallid personality and is zero as an actor, those scenes are pretty ridiculous.

My own reaction to the hippie views shown in this film is somewhat less adulatory. With some understanding (I think) of the reasons that hippies exist, to me they still have a considerable tinge of the exploiter about them. One instance: when Alice and Ray renovate their church (no mention, by the way, of where they get the money to free themselves of money society), they and their hip friends line the walls with insulation material. All I could think of was the men working in factories and in sales agencies to make that insulation available to these people who despise factories and salesmanship. Hippies, like all superficial Fourierists, have something of the effect of mirror-image 18th-century aristocrats. Is society constrictive and overorganized? Let 'em eat freedom.

The best performer in the picture is Pat Quinn – new to me – a very sexy young woman, as Alice. The most interesting character is Ray (James Broderick) who is close to forty, apparently, and hung up on hippies. I wanted to know more about this asynchronous man and how he got that way. It would be glib to suggest an analogy between Ray and Penn himself, but I kept wondering what Penn's feelings were about Ray specifically in this regard. I never found out – nor anything else much about the man.

During the best sequence, the last, I thought of *Walden*, the last chapter. Thoreau tells us that he left the woods for as good reason as he went there. This man who left society because (for one thing) he disliked its routines tells us that he had been in the woods only a week when he noticed that he had already beaten a path, from his door to the pond-side. Some such idea may have been in Penn's mind in his conclusion. Alice is in the doorway of the church, which she is soon to leave to found a commune. Loneliness is in the air. As the light changes, the camera moves in slow circles without ever leaving her face: away from her and back to her in slow circles. It is the moment in the film that seems to me most authentically Penn's; much of the rest is just more or less "with-it."

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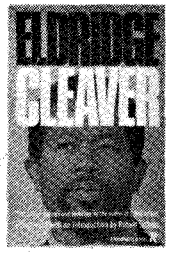

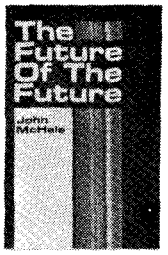

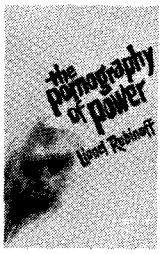

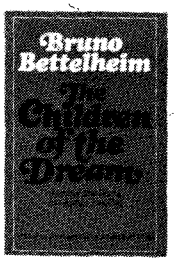

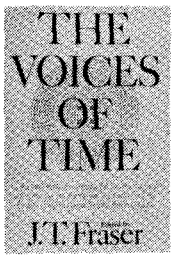

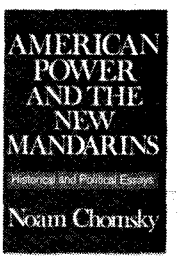

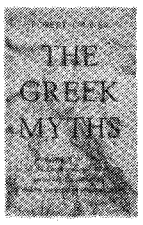

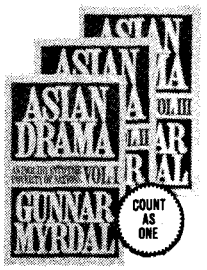

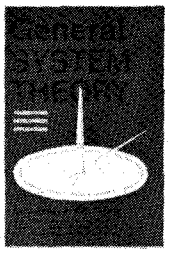

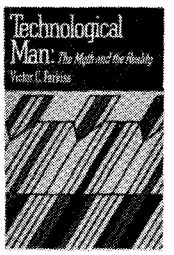

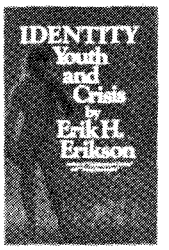

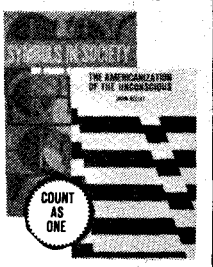

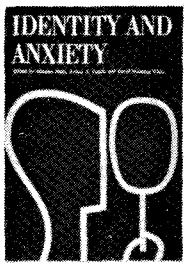

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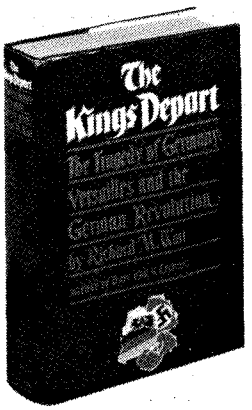

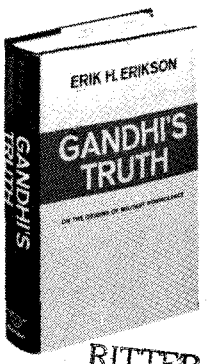

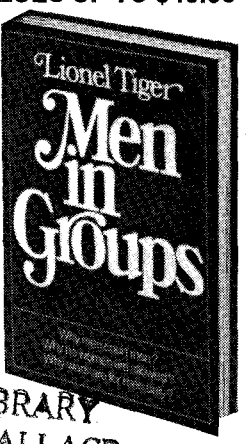

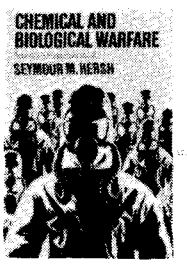

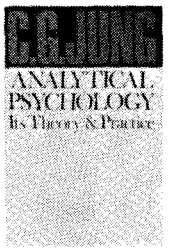

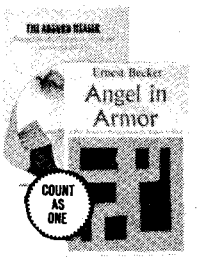

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